RIOTS & DISTURBANCES—GENERAL

1992

SEPT. — DEC.
They suffered bitter blows but don't bear grudges.
Buthelezi to wreck supercop proposal?

ELISHA — The Gold Coast Premier, Dr. Lawrence, has called for a new supercop to deal with the crime crisis. However, the proposed plan has been met with criticism from various groups.

Richard Goldstone, with his report on police corruption, has raised concerns about the effectiveness of the proposed supercop. The plan, which has been backed by the ANC and the SAP, has faced opposition from some quarters.

Both the Department of Justice and the ANC have backed the plan, but it remains to be seen whether it will be implemented without resistance. The SAP, for their part, are keen to see the plan through, but they are also concerned about the impact on their existing structure.

The Premier has stated that the proposed supercop will be an integral part of the police force and will be responsible for dealing with high-level crime. However, there are concerns about the role of the supercop and whether they will be able to make a difference.

The proposed plan has also been met with opposition from some groups who feel that the current police force is already overstretched and that a new supercop would not be the solution. They argue that more resources need to be directed towards improving the existing force rather than creating a new one.
New panel on mass action?

Political Staff

A SECOND panel of international experts on mass demonstrations was being considered because of the success of the first panel, Mr Justice R Goldstone said yesterday.

The first panel of experts — from South Africa, the US, Canada, Belgium and the Netherlands — benefited all parties and especially the police, he said.

Mr Goldstone said this in an introduction to a book, "Towards peaceful protest in SA", which was released yesterday.
Anarchy Without Police — Goldstone
IP shuns hearings after blasts

DURBAN — The IFP says the Bruntville hostel committee has resolved to suspend all further voluntary co-operation with the Goldstone Commission hearings following two grenade attacks in the township before yesterday's sitting of the commission in Mool River.

The commission adjourned yesterday morning to intervene in clashes sparked by the Bruntville attacks.

An IFP information centre spokesman said two grenades were tossed at 6am yesterday at the Bruntville hostel and the old Bruntville community hall, housing at least 20 refugees displaced from their homes.
ANC ‘atrocities’: Probe on

JOHANNESBURG. — The chairman of an International Freedom Foundation-sponsored commission of inquiry into torture in African National Congress camps abroad said yesterday he would complete and present his findings to the IFF at the end of the year.

The hearings are going very well, with testimony being presented every day. A lot of people have responded to advertisements placed in various newspapers, while we have also received requests from people missing their relatives and want us to help in this regard,” advocate Mr R Douglas said.

The commission’s hearings in Johannesburg should end by tomorrow, when it will move to Durban.

“I hope to present the report to the IFF by the end of the year, and it will be up to them to distribute it to whoever they feel needs the document.”

Evidence had been received from a wide range of sources, including a document entitled “Mutiny in the ANC” as well as a US Senate inquiry into the alleged torture camps.

Meanwhile, ANC official Mr Carl Niehaus yesterday said the ANC’s own inquiry into alleged atrocities in its camps would be presented to the public within a fortnight.

Mr Niehaus said that several people, including senior ANC officials, had testified before the ANC commission. — Sapa
Spot Desk

The report on a case involving two brothers who were found dead in a barn near a small town in the countryside.

In the early hours of the morning, a neighbor discovered the bodies of the two young men. The scene was shocking and disturbing, and the local police were called to the scene.

Upon arrival, they found the two men lying on the floor of the barn. Both had obvious signs of being severely beaten and had injuries consistent with having been struck by a blunt object. The barn was located on a small farm, and the police searched the area for any signs of a struggle or a perpetrator.

After conducting an initial investigation, the police were unable to find any leads. However, they did notice that one of the victims had a phone on him, which had been switched off. This led them to believe that the killer might have been someone they knew or trusted.

The police interviewed the neighbors and family members of the victims, but no one had any information about what might have happened. The local community was shocked and upset by the news, and people were asking questions about the motivation behind the crime.

As the investigation continued, the police were able to piece together a timeline of events. It turned out that the victims had been involved in a local dispute, and the killer had been one of the parties involved. The killer had planned the murder and had been seen leaving the area shortly after the crime was committed.

The killer was eventually caught and charged with murder. The case made national headlines, and the community mourned the loss of the two young men.

The case serves as a reminder of the dangers of unchecked aggression and the importance of conflict resolution. It also highlights the need for stronger laws and penalties for those who engage in violent behavior.

In the end, the killer was sentenced to life in prison, and the community moved on from the tragedy. However, the memory of the victims and their families remained forever.
Protests and police raids

 Volunteers to monitor

By committee

Crisis averted

OPERATIONAL DETAILS OF 2/1992

Business Day's Wednesday, September 2, 1992
PRETORIA. — South Africans have the capacity to stop the violence, ANC executive member Mr. Rocky Malebane-Motsing said yesterday.

In a talk to lecturers in the Department of Criminology at the University of South Africa, he said, "If the ANC benefited from the violence surely it would not have been out to get international groups to monitor the situation."

He said ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela had agreed some umkhonto weSizwe units were responsible for fanning violence in certain areas and had set up a commission to investigate the matter. — Sapa
Reports by rights groups ‘slanted’

EC mission heads south

LONDON. — Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd said before leaving for South Africa yesterday that dialogue was the only way to resolve the country’s problems.

Speaking at Heathrow Airport as he led an EC delegation on a two-day fact-finding mission, Mr Hurd said: “There can be no question of bringing back apartheid by force and there can be no question of achieving a new constitution through armed struggle.”

As the extremes on both sides were clearly wrong, discussion was the only way forward. The question was when and in what circumstances.

Mr Hurd was accompanied by Danish Foreign Minister Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen and EC External Relations Commissioner Mr Frans Andriessen. They were to pick up Portuguese Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Jose Manuel Baroso in Lisbon before flying on to Johannesburg.

While in South Africa the EC delegation will meet the leaders of all major political groupings, as well as church, business and labour leaders, and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

— Own Correspondent, Sapa-AP

The institute said yesterday that the reports it had analysed “abound in unsubstantiated allegations and biased commentary which effectively convict the SAP, or the government, or Inkatha of fuelling violence, while exonerating others”.

It added “Those who feel that they are constantly and unjustifiably accused of fomenting the violence may feel there is little point in continuing to participate in peace efforts, or have difficulty in retaining supporters who feel outraged.”

The 56-page analysis of the reports was delivered yesterday to European foreign ministers. It will be presented to SAIRR members at a meeting later this week, at which Mr Kane-Berman will disclose “further sources of disinformation” and explain the strategy that motivated it.

The institute said Dr Jeffery’s analysis pointed to a common thread running through the reports of Amnesty, the ICJ and the HRC.

“All focus on the carrying of traditional weapons in public. All accuse the IFP of being the principal perpetrator of political violence in South Africa. All accuse the security forces of colluding with the IFP in attacking the ANC and its allies.”

According to Dr Jeffery, these accusations were based on methodology that involved the suppression of information, the elevation of untested allegation to fact, and a consistent disregard for the principle of audi alteram partem (hear the other side).

“No court of law would use such methods to convict even a minor offender,” she said.

She cited a series of omissions that occurred in the reports of all three organisations:

● The frequent attacks on members of the police, resulting in the deaths of more than 120 policemen in the first seven months of 1992.

● The number of IFP officials and members — now over 1 000 — killed in recent years.

● The strategy of promoting “ungovernability” through mass action, and its role in fostering violence.

● The continued existence of uMkhonto weSizwe, self-defence units and secret arms caches.

Dr Jeffery said these omissions distorted the causes of violence, and “do not aid the search for truth nor the striving for solutions”.

The Institute said “merited, well-founded criticism must of course continue, whether against the government, the SAP, the IFP, the ANC, or any other organisation.” But unsubstantiated allegations had to be treated with the greatest caution.
Workers demand peace

ABOUT 4,000 members of the Transport and General Workers Union yesterday took to the streets to demand an immediate end to violence. Demonstrations and marches were held countrywide. Protesters also handed memorandums to police, traffic departments and regional offices of the Department of Manpower.

The biggest march was in Johannesburg where members of the TGWU were bussed into the city centre from places such as Phalaborwa, Pretoria, the East and West Rand regions.
Police have prevented violent coup, says Kriel

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Only the police and the Defence Force prevented a violent overthrow of the government by the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party, Law and Order Minister Mr Herman Kriel said today.

He told the National Party's Federal Congress here it was nonsensical to claim the police were part of the violence and denied there was any organised "third force".

"Why would the police want to take part in the violence? So they can be shot dead?" asked Mr. Kriel.

"Do you think it is nice for policemen to live in fear of a loud voice?" — Sapa.

It was the strategy of the ANC and the SACP to destroy the security forces' credibility and to achieve joint control, clearing the way to take over in South Africa.

But the NP would not allow the police and SADF to be destroyed and would not permit anarchy. Mr Kriel.

"It is only the police that stand between law and order and anarchy in this country." said Mr Kriel.

"Has not the time come for the South African public to stand up and support the police rather than criticise them?" "Is it not time for the silent majority to speak up with a loud voice?" — Sapa.

See page 4.
Pretoria. The National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders had agreed to assist the Goldstone Commission with its witness protection programme.

Nicro will help ensure the general welfare of protected persons, and assist in making the periods of protection less oppressive. — Sapa
JOHANNESBURG — A group of 150 business and professional volunteers is being set up by the National Peace Secretariat to monitor political gatherings, protest marches and police raids.

Rand Mines industrial relations executive Mr Jan Hiemstra, who has been asked by the secretariat to co-ordinate the monitoring group's activities, said the volunteers had so far come mainly from the business sector.

Other professions had also been approached and he expected volunteers from the Bar Council to come forward.

The volunteers would attend an orientation programme before they began operations from the secretariat's 11 regional bases by the end of the month.

The orientation programme would include police procedures and would work closely with UN, EC and Commonwealth monitors.

Mr Hiemstra said the volunteers would fit in with National Peace Accord structures and co-ordinate their activities with the international observers.

He envisaged that the monitors would be drawn into facilitating solutions to problems "on the spot".

Earlier former Zambian president Mr Kenneth Kaunda agreed to mediate between the ANC and the Inkatha — and he may be joined by former Tanzanian president Mr Julius Nyerere.

Mr Kaunda and Mr Nyerere were proposed by Inkatha and accepted by the ANC.

SAPA-Reuters reports from Lusaka that Mr Kaunda said: "I have just sent back a letter accepting the invitation to go and try and help the ANC and Inkatha to come together and work together."
No 'organised' third force exists, says govt

BLOEMFONTEIN — Government yesterday categorically denied the existence of a third force "on an organised basis".

And Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel told delegates at the NP Free State congress all that stood in the way of a violent takeover by the ANC and the communists were the SAP and the SADF.

However, he said police urgently needed better training.

He said many of them were dying because they did not know how to deal with crisis situations properly.

Kriel dismissed allegations that the security forces were fomenting violence, saying it did not make sense for police to participate in violence as this would make them more vulnerable to death or injury.

"Only the SAP stands between law and order and anarchy in this country," he said during his spirited defence of the SAP.

He accused the ANC and the SAPC of trying to destroy the credibility of the security forces by calling for joint control of the SAP and SADF.

Once they had achieved this objective they would be in a position to take over control of the country.

He said government would not allow this because this would lead to anarchy and chaos.

Kriel said as a result of new police initiatives since March to combat crime, serious crime had declined by 37% in May and 9% in June.

He made an appeal for more people to join the police reservists, noting that the law had been changed to allow members of the police to belong to political parties.

Young and older males were needed to help secure the safety of neighbourhoods and serve as farm guards.

After his speech he said the police were conducting discussions with the Red Cross to assist in monitoring the treatment of prisoners at police cells.

Kriel said the police had already stated that they were prepared to assist the Red Cross.

He also said the six magistrates that would act as inspectors of cells had been identified.

The police hierarchy were talking to them to see if they would agree to take the job.

Kriel would not release names of doctors, giving further details saying he would do this once he released the findings of the investigation into the allegations of an independent pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman.

The Minister said he had received the report and was busy discussing it with Justice Minister Robie Coetsee and the attorneys-general.
The role of biases in violence
Peace ambassador brings good tidings

The joint recipient of the 1987 World Methodist Peace Prize and freeman of the Scottish towns of Fort William and Dudley, where he lives, Mr Bissel visited Cape Town to deliver his message of peace in person.

He said: "We haven't come here in any way to dictate, because your problems have been greater than ours, but to cooperate, if we are allowed that great privilege."

Last week he tried to climb Table Mountain — but had to turn back when his guide said they were running out of time.

On Sunday he delivered a sermon on the mountain slope at Rhodes Memorial, at a service attended by Mayor Frank van der Velde.

"The aim of the visit is to bring a message of goodwill and cheer — the Christian message — and also to tell how I have been used through mountains. My contribution has been rather unique in the field of peaceful pursuits," he said.

His involvement with mountains began as Bible class leader. "Christ climbed mountains so we said we would climb mountains."

He first climbed Ben Nevis in 1932. "We ran all the way up and down and thought it was the last time, but fortunately it wasn't."

The message of the Ben Nevis memorial has gone out all over the world in turn, and messages for peace have been left on Mount Everest, Mount Kongur in China, Mount Kosciusko in Australia, Mount Fuji in Japan and through the mediation of former Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, Mount Communist in Russia.
Marches monitored

A GROUP of 150 business and professional volunteers is presently being set
up by the National Peace Secretariat to monitor political gatherings, protest
marches and police raids in the country.

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asked by the secretariat to coordinate the monitoring group's activities, said
yesterday the volunteers had so far come mainly from the business sector.

He said other professions had also been approached and he expected vol-
unteers from the Bar Council to come forward.
Row erupts over reports on violence

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE row over reports on violence escalated yesterday with the Human Rights Commission denying it was increasing tensions and the SA Institute of Race Relations accusing it and others of producing "a disinformation scandal".

SAIRR director Mr John Kane-Berman, who earlier this week criticised the HRC, Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists for its reports, last night attacked two other bodies, Case and the Independent Board into Informal Repression.

He also attacked the Weekly Mail for promoting the "theory" of a "third force" without proof.

"One of the co-editors of this paper is now beginning to admit, although not yet in the paper, that its third force allegations are based on 'patchy evidence' which is 'not always reliable,'" Mr Kane-Berman said.

The HRC reacted to the criticisms yesterday, saying that it rejected any suggestion that its information on violence heightened confrontation.

"The HRC makes no pretense to being an academic research body, but it is the first to admit to being unashamedly anti-apartheid, and to that extent biased.

"We are meticulous in measuring the human rights record of the apartheid government against the standards of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and in reporting facts as accurately as possible," the HRC said.

The HRC also had no intention of engaging in a point-by-point refutation of specific accusations by SAIRR.

In his speech, Mr Kane-Berman said the reporting about the third force in South Africa was beginning to resemble British tabloid reporting on the royal family. "90% of it is speculation and imagination and 10% is truth.

"The problem is, you can never be sure which is the 10%.

The reports of the various agencies were not helpful because "while they rightly castigate the IFP and the police for their involvement in violence, they turn a blind eye to the question of ungovernability.

"At best the recent reports of these agencies are one-sided and simplistic, at worst they amount to disinformation.

"Indeed, one could say that South Africa has a new information scandal — a disinformation scandal.

"The disinformation campaign is indeed an industry which has not only a strategic purpose but also the most serious of practical consequences."
15 EC observers set to monitor violence

PRETORIA — The EC will send 15 observers to SA to monitor violence as part of a package of proposals outlined by EC troika leader and British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd last night. (ZACREU)

After a two-day trip to SA, Hurd also told journalists the EC would send expert investigators to assist the Goldstone commission's investigative task force.

The troika wanted an EC expert on each of the five investigative teams proposed by Judge Richard Goldstone. Hurd also said the EC would assist in training police for the new political situation.

In addition, the EC would act on a request to assist in existing programmes helping victims of the violence.

Commenting on the ANC's decision not to return to negotiations yet, Hurd said he hoped talks would resume. The ANC was a "crucial partner".

The EC group will make a stopover visit to Somaliland before returning to Europe.

Yesterday, the delegation visited Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg, and met delegates of the national peace committee's interim crisis committee for the township.

Their 20-minute tour of the township included the "Beirut" area. Hurd said: "It is still a shock to come here. Even though I came to Alexandra last year, it is necessary to remind oneself what it is actually like and how bad it is. It is interesting to note the change. Last year nobody spoke of 'Beirut'."

"It is very important that we do come here. Although we read the reports and see the images on television it is not the same. It is by seeing that you get the true impression," he said.

Hurd and colleagues, Danish Foreign Minister Ulfr Edelmann Jensen and Portuguese Deputy Foreign Minister Jose Dornao Barroso, were in SA to assess peace efforts and try to help get political parties back to the negotiating table. The troika also met Inkatha Freedom leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President F W de Klerk before leaving. — Sapa-AFP.
The Disinformation Scandal

Vigilance does not occur in a vacuum. It is the product of a collective effort, and it requires the active participation of all members of society. The Disinformation Scandal, as it is known, is a phenomenon that has been growing in recent years, and it has become a significant concern for many people around the world.

One of the key factors contributing to the rise of disinformation is the increased availability of information through the internet. While the internet has been a powerful tool for the dissemination of knowledge and ideas, it has also been used by those with malicious intentions to spread false information and sow confusion and discord.

The Disinformation Scandal has taken many forms, ranging from the spread of conspiracy theories to the manipulation of social media algorithms to influence public opinion. In addition, disinformation campaigns have been used to influence elections and political outcomes, often with devastating consequences.

It is important for individuals to be vigilant and to critically evaluate the information they encounter online. By staying informed and actively engaging with the world around us, we can help to prevent the spread of disinformation and ensure that our society remains free and prosperous.
Violence monitors defend reports

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) has defended its monitoring of political violence, stating it is "unashamedly anti-apartheid" but meticulous in measuring the human rights record of the Government against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The HRC statement was a response to a report published by the SA Institute of Race Relations, in which author Anthea Jeffery accused the HRC, Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists of spreading disinformation regarding political violence.

The SAIRR report argued that these organisations used one-sided and untested information to emphasise the culpability of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government while ignoring other perpetrators of violence, particularly the ANC.

"We have no need to manufacture or distort any facts, as apartheid's record speaks most eloquently for itself," the HRC said.

Criticised

The organisation stated that it had no intention of refuting point-by-point the SAIRR's accusations "since this would only lead to yet another 56-page report of doubtful purpose".

But it noted that the SAIRR had based its conclusions on only two HRC publications.

The SAIRR criticised the HRC for collapsing attacks by IFP supporters and by ANC supporters into a single category, "vigilante-related action". This boosted the apparent level of "vigilante-related" violence, said the SAIRR.

The HRC responded that its definitions appeared in full in each publication and said the crucial factor in "vigilante-related violence" was that, whether ANC or IFP members perpetrated individual attacks, these were part of a chain of conflict arising from a "vigilante-initiated situation".

The HRC denied that its publications added to conflict. "We believe that full exposure of the root causes of political violence is the only way to bring it to an end".
There's no place like Homeland

Ramsey Milner Reports from New York on a Black Equivalent of SAT's

If there were an AAV in the United States, it would be known short. Our country's name, like all the others, is classroom.

The words are all AAVs in the classroom. If there were an AAV in the classroom, it would be known short. Our country's name, like all the others, is classroom.

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There's no place like Homeland
Monitors race against time

By ARTHUR GAVISON, London

SHOCK effects of the Bisho massacre have galvanised key world governments into action amid mounting fears that bloody new confrontations could engulf South Africa in full-scale insurrection.

Four international organisations hustled this week to dispatch monitors to bolster the shaky structure of the National Peace Accord.

An advance contingent of a 50-strong United Nations observer mission is due to fly to Johannesburg from New York today. Significantly, they will be deployed in the flashpoint areas of Natal–kwaZulu and the Transvaal.

Organisation of African Unity, European Community and Commonwealth teams are to follow soon.

The German government has joined the United States and Britain in pinning political responsibility for Monday’s shoot-out on President FW de Klerk’s regime. All have condemned what they regard as a disproportionate use of force.

Diplomats at the UN, EC and Commonwealth headquarters reported in telephone interviews their main concern now is that the African National Congress will set out to switch its campaign of mass action to Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu. Such a move, they said, would suck in South African Defence Force units and almost certainly have consequences far more serious than at Bisho.

“We see the situation developing as a race against time,” one British official said.

US President George Bush and British Prime Minister John Major were reported to be among the heads of government who have been in touch privately both with De Klerk and Nelson Mandela in the past few days. They urged the greatest restraint and decisive action to end violence and restart negotiations.

Officials of the four international bodies have already begun the process of co-ordinating their planned monitoring arrangements.

The scale and nature of the Commonwealth’s role is down for discussion next week, when the organisation’s Secretary General, Emaka Anyaoku, meets UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in New York. Anyaoku has publicly raised the possibility of reintroducing sanctions if De Klerk’s reforms are torpedoed.
EC to send 15 observers

Political Staff

THE European Community is to send 15 observers to monitor violence in South Africa and second experts to the Goldstone Commission investigating political violence, British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd said in Pretoria.

He told a news conference at the end of a two-day fact-finding mission by three EC foreign ministers that the observers would be appointed as a matter of urgency and co-ordinate their work with 50 United Nations observers.

Mr Hurd, whose delegation included Danish Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen and Portuguese Secretary of State Mr Jose Manuel Barroso, said the EC was greatly concerned about violence in South Africa and was encouraged by the work done by the National Peace Secretariat.

The British Foreign Secretary said Mr Justice Goldstone had asked his delegation to second experts to his commission. The judge wanted to have five teams, in each of which he wanted an international representative, according to Mr Hurd.
War on violence given fresh momentum

Ray Hartley

The war against violence gained momentum yesterday as a number of initiatives were taken.

These included:

☐ A police announcement that 1 600 more officers would be deployed in unrest “hot spots”;
☐ A meeting yesterday between Vaal Triangle police and ANC representatives to discuss ending conflict in the area; and
☐ A meeting between the ANC, the Law and Order Ministry and the SA Rail and Commuter Corporation (SARCC) today to look at steps to end violence on metropolitan trains on the Reef.

The force of 1 600 internal stability division policemen would be permanently deployed in “hot spots” or “red areas” where violence was particularly intense, said division chief Lt Gen Johan Swart. They would be deployed on the Witwatersrand, and in the Vaal Triangle, Soweto, Natal, eastern Cape and the Cape Peninsula.

“Statistics show that 80% of the total unrest incidents reported occur in these areas,” he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the new deployment would not help end the violence while police attitudes and structures remained unchanged. He said it seemed to be a political propaganda stunt aimed at creating the illusion that government was acting to end the violence.

Police spokesman Col Ray Harold said 5 000 internal stability division policemen were now working to counter violence.

“They will intensify patrols so there is a large visible presence of policemen.”

SARCC spokesman Roos Meyer said today’s talks between the SARCC, the Law and Order Ministry and the ANC could give fresh impetus to efforts to end train violence. He would not be drawn on ANC threats to renew the train boycott if security

Violencey was not upgraded immediately “Mutual

In another development, sources said that Maj Gen Dutton, who supervised the police cover-up in the Trist Reid massacre case earlier this year, could be appointed to the Goldstone commission’s special investigative unit. But Judge Richard Goldstone said no decision had been reached on the composition of the team and suggestions that Dutton had been appointed were “completely incorrect.”

The sources said Dutton had been shortlisted and was an obvious candidate because of his record of impartiality and professionalism.

Six people — two in Alexandra — were reported dead yesterday in unrest-related incidents across the country.
Exhibition Sale

Sir William Russell Finn
Day Pirates and Porpoise-Fish
Casper Child and Fred Perryman, Exhibitors

Drawings and Paintings

On display at the exhibition are works of art by the noted artists of the 19th and 20th centuries. The exhibition features a wide variety of works, including landscapes, portraits, still lifes, and abstracts.

LOCATION

The exhibition is located in the main exhibition hall of the museum. The entrance is on the ground floor, and the exhibition is accessible to all.

OPENING HOURS

The exhibition is open daily from 10am to 5pm. The last admission is at 4:30pm.

ADMISSION

Free admission is available for all visitors.

ACCESSIBILITY

The exhibition is wheelchair accessible. Assistance is available on request.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Please visit our website or contact us at (123) 456-7890.

THE ARTISTS

The artists featured in this exhibition include:

- Thomas Eakins
- Vincent van Gogh
- Pablo Picasso
- Georgia O'Keeffe
- Mark Rothko

ARTWORKS ON DISPLAY

- The Starry Night by Vincent van Gogh
- Self-Portrait by Pablo Picasso
- Landscape with Figure by Georgia O'Keeffe
- The Yellow Christ by Mark Rothko

ORGANIZED BY

The exhibition is organized by the Art Museum of the City of New York.

CREDIT

The exhibition is supported by a generous donation from the Smith Foundation.

MUSEUM HOURS

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FOR MORE INFORMATION

Please visit our website or contact us at (123) 456-7890.
MAJOR Frank Dutton, the "supercop" whose startling revelations in the Trust Feed massacre catapulted him to into the public eye as a policeman of integrity, has been singled out for appointment to the Goldstone Commission's special investigative teams probing violence.

Investigations by the Saturday Star this week revealed that Dutton is likely to play a key role on the commission's squad of "untouchables" and that consultations are taking place over the possibility of other members of his Hammarshale unit — also instrumental in the Trust Feed probe — being brought on board.

What made the 42-year-old Dutton an obvious target for the no-holds-barred detective work required by Mr Justice Goldstone to uncover the causes of the ongoing bloodshed was the result of his Trust Feed massacre probe.

Credibility
The fact that the mild-mannered policeman courageously — in the face of death threats — forged ahead with an inquiry which led to the conviction of five of his colleagues put him firmly into the newfound domain of "good cop".

Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin believes Dutton will be a "very wise appointment — he is the one person who has been proved to have unqualified credibility".

Human Rights Commission national director Safouma Sadek concurs. "He has clearly shown an inclination to get to the bottom of events and not be influenced by interested parties.

"However, we believe that the success of the teams does not lie with the presence of an individual but would depend largely on the powers of investigation and independence granted to the entire team," she adds.

"Bad apples"

Mr Justice Goldstone is currently involved in consultations to establish the form and political credibility of the policemen offered by the SAP to his envisaged five investigative units.

The process is expected to take some time, as it is understood the judge is determined to avoid the possibility of "bad apples" slipping through the screening.

Dutton feels indebted to his unit for their help in the Trust Feed case, and some of his men are likely to join him in the Goldstone Commission team.

A strong contender is retired warrant officer Wilson Magadla, who worked with Dutton and was described as the "brains" behind the major. Magadla has had experience in other major investigations, including one which led to the conviction for murder of top Inkatha man Samuel Jamile.

Each unit is to include an international expert with partly legal, partly administrative, experience.
Sabta to step up peace bid

PILANESBERG. — The South African Black Taxi Association yesterday resolved to broaden its involvement in the campaign to bring about peace in the country.

This was said by Sabta president Mr James Ngcoya in his address to the organisation's annual conference here.

Mr Ngcoya said Sabta had established peace committees in all provinces to try to stop the violence in the taxi industry.

He blamed the government for deregulating the industry, thereby flooding it with more taxis than necessary.

He also blamed the taxi violence on low profit margins which resulted in fights over routes. — Sapa CTSA}
HELEN GRANGE  
Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — "Super-cop" Major Frank Dutton has been singled out for appointment to the Goldstone Commission's special investigative teams probing violence.

Major Dutton's startling revelations in the Trust Feed massacre case catapulted him into the public eye as a policeman of integrity.

Investigations by the Weekend Argus have revealed that Major Dutton is likely to play a key role on the commission's squad of "untouchables" and that consultations are taking place over the possibility of other members of his Hammardale unit — also instrumental in the Trust Feed probe — being brought on board.

What made the 43-year-old Major Dutton an obvious target for the no-holds-barred detective work required by Mr Justice Goldstone to uncover the causes of ongoing bloodshed, was the result of his Trust Feed massacre probe.

The fact that the mild-mannered policeman courageously faced death threats — forged ahead with an inquiry which led to the conviction of five of his colleagues, put him firmly into the new-found domain of "good cop".

Lawyers for Human Rights director Mr Brian Currin believe Major Dutton will be a "very wise appointment — he is the one person who has been proved to have unqualified credibility".

Human Rights Commission national director Safora Sadek concurs. "He has clearly shown an inclination to get to the bottom of events and not be influenced by interested parties."

"However, we believe that the success of the teams does not lie with the presence of an individual but would depend largely on the powers of investigation and independence granted to the entire team," she adds.

Mr Justice Goldstone is involved in consultations to establish the form and political credibility of the policemen offered by the police to his envisaged five investigative units.

The process is expected to take some time, as it is understood the judge is determined to avoid the possibility of "bad apples" slipping through the screening.

Major Dutton feels indebted to his unit for their help in the Trust Feed case and some of his men are likely to join him in the commission team.

A strong contender is the retired Warrant Officer Wilson Magadla, who worked with Major Dutton and was described as "the brains" behind the major. Warrant Officer Magadla has had experience in other major investigations, including one which led to the conviction for murder of top Inkatha member Samuel Jamile.

Each unit is to include an international expert with legal and administrative experience.
POLITICAL violence and instability have failed to put the lid on multibillion-rand projects that are providing jobs, housing, education and social services to the desperately poor in South Africa.

Tens of thousands of impoverished people are daily regaining self-confidence and reaping the benefits of extensive consultation between development organisations such as the Independent Development Trust (IDT) and the Urban Foundation on the one hand, and political organisations from the extreme Left to the far Right on the other.

Of the R2 billion earmarked by the Government two years ago for development through the IDT, R1.9 billion has been allocated to 340 projects, with R700 million of this already in the ground all over the country. Currently the IDT spends an average of R4.5 million a week.

In the western Cape, the Urban Foundation will spend R3 million during the next 12 months on support services for an estimated 1 million squatters. The foundation will teach building skills and methods, negotiate affordable materials for shack-builders and encourage companies to award subcontracts to unemployed communities.

On a bigger scale the IDT — and partners including the Urban Foundation, Kagiso Trust, Joint Education Trust and the Development Bank of Southern Africa — will be turning nodes in South Africa and the homelands to provide beacons of hope such as schools, serviced sites and clinics.

Writing in the IDT’s recent second annual report, communications director Jolyon Nuttall says the founding of the IDT from a surplus of taxpayers money in the 1990 Budget was “clearly part of a series of bold initiatives to do things differently” after more than 40 years of apartheid.

IDT chairman Jan Steyn puts it like this: “It’s much more difficult for violence to take hold where development has played a role in bringing people together. No time is more opportune than now for a massive increase in development.”

But where the Government and the private sector have made a commitment to eliminate socio-economic backlogs, development agencies are confronted by suspicions about the role of corporate good-stoys, Nuttall says that only a few years ago the word “development” was hardly mentioned in socio-economic or political vocabularies.

“Indeed, it had negative connotations arising from the imposition of apartheid as separate development. Now it is regarded as a driving force in underpinning political transition in this country.”

Sharon Follenine, the Urban Foundation’s assistant regional director in the western Cape, says: “Development is anything that promotes justice, equity and changes of attitudes. You cannot eliminate poverty unless there’s also commitment to social justice.”

Breaking the tensions

Gavin Wyngaard, manager of the Urban Foundation’s informal settlement support programme, says: “An example of how we should try to defuse conflict is the Masipatane Project, where we have brought about a relationship between the heads of community organisations and representatives of the private sector.”

Nuttall quotes the IDT’s projects at Soweto-on-Sea, in Port Elizabeth, as another example of development breaking through political tensions. There the IDT is providing 10,000 families with freehold title to serviced sites.

Reporting on the project, Georgina Hamilton says that although there is a strong African National Congress presence in the PE resettlement, other political parties or groups are not excluded.

At Langa, near Uitenhage, Unifound Housing is developing a site-and-service scheme in a place where 21 people were killed in 1985 when police fired on a funeral crowd. A year later, local authorities forcibly relocated the Langa shack community despite pleas for upgrading.

Today, the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian People’s Organisation, the SA Communist Party, the Uitenhage municipality and development organisations are jointly involved in establishing a motivated, self-contained community.

“There are countless other examples,” says Nuttall. “If you give people hope, you diminish the potential for violence. In a time when there has been so much violence, there has also been amazing development news — which unfortunately spreads more slowly than bad news.”
The VIOLENT and the VANISHED

If it is a sign of weakness to let opponents live in an area, how do we ever expect to have democracy?

More than 12 000 people have been killed in political violence in South Africa in a decade. Hundreds of thousands of people have been displaced, living as refugees for days, months or years. The government claims it has a policy, but relief organisations say that this is not apparent.

CHARLENE SMITH reports

Natal Refugee Zones

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Natal Refugee Zones

ance pending the outcome of the Goldstone commission's inquiry.

The hostel is in an appalling condition. Men sit in filthy, dark, cramped quarters on upturned beer crates, drinking heavily or smoking dagga. About 50 refugees live in the hostel.

Most hostel residents come from areas around Estcourt. Many have lived in the hostel for considerable periods. There is a ratio of 90 men to one toilet, all share a single shower block with hot water and they have no recreation facilities.

Community life has been destroyed. Veteran peasant activists are the chairman of the Natal KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee and Mary de Haas of the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Natal say that this sort of breakdown is the most difficult, and most critical, component to resolve. The conflict is far from over.

Violence forces those from the community who could play a constructive role. Professional older people also flee. What you get in place of them is a bunch of thugs who don't know what democracy is. To them, it is...
Although it is extremely difficult to have a clear picture of the exact numbers of people who have died in this war, it is estimated that over 100,000 have been killed. The majority are civilians, but there are reports of thousands of soldiers and police also killed. It is difficult to estimate the number of people who have been displaced and who are currently struggling to survive. The war has had a devastating impact on the infrastructure of the country, and many areas are still in ruins. The struggle for peace and stability continues.
THE small community of Fox Lake, Soweto, seemed like the perfect middle-class development. Fifty neat little houses were erected and sold last year to teachers, nurses and clerks for prices ranging from R10,000 to R70,000. Unfortunately, their homes were between Meadowlands and Meadowdale townships.

In February this year, an attack broke out between Meadowlands and Meadowdale. The "Var" between the two communities erupted in a battle of nerves. Each side was demanding an end to the other. After constant intimidation and gun battles in the streets around their homes, Fox Lake residents left their homes and live in shacks or with relatives. Nurses left their hospitals and moved into nursing residences, others live in shacks or with relatives in storage facilities.

Mrs de Haas says it is often dangerous for people to go back to their homes. "I must phone the police today and ask for their assistance. Some people who have fled went back but fear they will be killed."

"It is a sign of weakness to let opponents live in an area, how do we ever expect to have democracy? It can't happen unless we have a strategy that guarantees the right of everyone to live in their home place, aided by someone to oversee the situation.

"The amazing thing is where all these people find homes. Very few come to the attention of relief agencies. They end up sharing other people's homes, squat, or live in backyard shacks."

Schooling also suffers. "White-collar people can often get their children into other schools, but most poor people can't. Children drop out of school because of violence. Schools are targeted because pupils are seen as comrades."

"There needs to be a coordinated strategy dealing with refugees and places where people can go for help."

The impact on children is serious. Eight of the 84 people held in connection with the Boipatong massacre are children aged between 15 and 17. All fled their homes after attacks and sought refuge at the local hostel. None apparently knows what happened to parents or relatives.

Grand schemes to create a stable middle class fail too when faced with the problem violence delivers.
Pupils plan a 'peace run'

Sunday Times Reporter

A GROUP of school children plan to run 1200km for peace, collecting signatures on the way.

With three teachers and a number of parents, Muir College Uitenhage pupils will leave Auckland Park in Johannesburg on October 2 and run back to Uitenhage, covering 300km a day.

They will step at every town on the way to collect signatures from people who support their dream for a peaceful future.

They hope to collect more than a million signatures to hand over to UN observers.

Headmaster Paul Ellis said: "The boys have identified the absence of a peace ethos among South Africans as a major shortcoming and have decided to do something about it.

"They want to send a message to the world that South Africans are not all bad, and to counteract the negative attitude towards us."

The runners will each cover between 50 and 100km of the total distance, depending on age and fitness.

Four of the adult runners completed the Comrades Marathon this year and will tackle the tougher sections of the route.

Multiple winner of the Comrades Marathon Bruce Fordyce will join the runners at the starting point."
Weekend violence claims lives of 22 nationwide

Staff Reporters

Continuing violence has claimed the lives of at least 22 people across the country since Friday.

Yesterday, a man was stabbed to death with a spear before his body was set alight in Vosloorus, police said.

Also on the East Rand, a commuter was killed when he was attacked and thrown from a speeding train near the Fernkloof station, Germiston, early on Saturday.

In Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, two people were shot and wounded and 23 stabbed, according to residents.

Police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said only three people were injured and a house set alight when two groups attacked each other. He said police separated the groups who were armed with firearms and knives.

Residents alleged that Inkatha Freedom Party supporters from Madala hostel opened fire at a burial society procession at the intersection of Selbourne and Third Avenue. Nobody was injured.

On Friday night, a policeman was shot dead and robbed of his firearm in Katlehong.

Two people were killed in the Vaal Triangle and another narrowly escaped a "necklacing".

Yesterday, police found the body of a woman who had been murdered and raped in Bolopatong.

On Saturday, Isaac Nyanathwa (66) found the body of his son Leva Philip (27) in Union Road, Ettaton Small Farms, police said.

Also on Saturday, Sam Mofokeng, of Soshanguve's Zamdela township, was travelling in his minibus in Zone 7, Sebokeng, when he was stopped by about 40 youths.

Mr Mofokeng was dragged out of the minibus and the youths tried to "necklace" him, police said.

Mr Mofokeng managed to escape and run off, chased by some of the youths who had jumped into his minibus.

Another man was murdered and his house was set alight in Wesselton in the eastern Transvaal on Saturday morning.

At least 14 people were killed on Natal's troubled south coast on Friday and Saturday, police said.

Spokesman for the SAP's Internal Stability Division, Lieutenant-Colonel Ray Harrald said extra police had been deployed in the area.

On Saturday, members of the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) shot dead a man believed to be a "people's court official" whom they had connected to three murders in Port Shepstone, he said.

3 policemen killed

By Bronwyn Wilkinson and Melody McDougall

Three policemen were killed and 11 were injured in separate attacks around the country at the weekend.

In Katlehong on the East Rand yesterday morning, gunmen attacked Sergeant MR Malama who was on duty in Khamelo Street, police said.

The gunmen shot Sergeant Malama in the head before taking his firearm. He died in the Katlehong Hospital.

Early on Saturday morning, Assistant Constable BB Bihya was stabbed to death in KwaDabeka, near Pinetown. A

Natal police spokesman said two men had been arrested.

Also on Saturday, Constable TP Mpeke was shot in the chest at the police barracks at Protea police station in Soweto.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Eugene Henning said police could not rule out the possibility that Constable Mpeke was shot by another policeman.

Eleven policemen were injured, three seriously, in two hand grenade attacks in Wesselton in the eastern Transvaal early on Saturday.

The SAP said the first attack occurred when the Ermelo police went to investigate the murder of a young man whose house had also been set alight.

The road was barricaded and a mob confronted policemen near the body.

A member of the Violent Crime Investigation Unit, Sergeant DD Hall, fired two warning shots into the ground, a police spokesman said.

A hand grenade was thrown at the policemen from the crowd and Sergeant Hall was wounded.

Later, a hand grenade was thrown at policemen at the scene of another murder. The SAP said 10 policemen were injured, three seriously.

Four people were killed and three injured in two accidental hand grenade explosions at the weekend.

Soweto police liaison officer Lieutenant Eugene Henning said the four died when a grenade exploded in a house in Tladi at 11.30 on Saturday night.

Police believe one of the deceased was handling the grenade when the pin fell out.

Two people were injured, one of them seriously.

The name of one of the deceased has been released. He was Alfred Tabagale (18).

In another explosion in Fairmount, Johannesburg, a man was injured when a grenade exploded in his hand on Saturday.

Police said the man, whose name has not been released, was in a serious condition in hospital.
ANC gets some new deadlines

THE ANC has launched its own newspaper in the eastern Transvaal.

The congress is edited by ANC official Jackson Mthembu, who said it was not only a mouthpiece for the ANC, Cosatu and the SAP alliance, "but for those communities who are without water, those communities who have no vote, those communities who are under a constant threat from gangsters, the SAP and the SADF."

However, the newspaper also contains a mock voting form, featuring the ANC, AWB, Azapo and other parties as contenders.

It notes: "As we are continuously breaking and rolling the skull of apartheid, let us build our branches into strong electoral constituencies. Our recruitment drive is not only aimed at increasing membership but canvassing more votes for victory."

HRC's Coleman says business must act to save its economy

UNCONTROLLABLE violence and economic decline were pushing the government extremely close to conceding to majority rule, newly elected Human Rights Commission national chairman Max Coleman said last week.

"They will only take the decision to agree to elections when the pain of holding on exceeds the pain of letting go," he said.

Coleman said in an interview he believed business could play a vital role in ending the violence by putting pressure on government to accept majority rule.

"The business community probably hold the key to the whole thing. It's their economy that is going down the drain."

He said government's planned conference of parties favouring federalism was a strategy designed to retain regional powers because they would not win a democratic election.

A behind-the-scenes battle between the political and security arms of government was inhibiting the state's ability to end violence, he said.

He accused the security establishment and Inkatha of a campaign to destabilise the ANC and its allies to weaken their bargaining power at the negotiating table.

Meanwhile, in a statement yesterday, the HRC defended itself against recent attacks on its impartiality by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

As a human rights body, its brief had always been to disseminate information about the observance or violation of human rights by the "apartheid state."

"We agree then ... that our perspective is one of bias against apartheid," it said.

"But it would be ludicrous to suggest the HRC has a need to invent or distort the human rights record of the apartheid state when the record is already so prolific in its detail."
SAIRR ‘mud-slinging’ criticised

Political Staff

THE Human Rights Commission (HRC) and the Black Sash yesterday hit out at the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) for its "mud-slogging" attacks on the commission's reports on violence.

The HRC said in a statement that the SAIRR's "recent vendetta" against it had given the commission cause to ponder on the differences between the two organisations for the institute to take "such a gratuitous and vituperous swipe at the HRC".

The Black Sash said in a statement it regretted "the intemperate attacks" by SAIRR representatives on recent HRC, Amnesty International and International Commission of Jurists reports.

"In the present situation of conflict and tension we do not believe it is helpful to ascribe motives and strategies to others, nor to use emotive language such as "disinformation scandal"", it said.

Both organisations were responding to hard-hitting criticisms by the SAIRR and its director, Mr John Kani-Berman.

The HRC said: "To go beyond the discussion of differences between HRC and SAIRR in perceptions and definitions would be to descend to the level of a mud-slogging exercise, something we have no wish to do."

However, it wanted to state it did regularly report and certainly deplored the death and injuries of policemen and IFP officials and supporters.

The HRC said it had never used the term "third force."

The HRC said the SAIRR often displayed an ambivalence "which is puzzling", and sometimes seemed to expend considerable energy on projects selected "more in defence of the apartheid state" than on exposing it.
Now ANC targets three bantustans

■ Bop, KwaZulu and QwaQwa face wrath

By Ike Motsapi

THE ANC and its allies are now targeting Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and KwaZulu for “Phase Four” of their mass action campaign.

The action, which is similar to the one launched in Ciskei yesterday, is aimed at installing a new democratic government by the end of the year.

Mr Mandla Dlamini, co-leader of the mass action campaign, yesterday said: “In this period we must strive to finally release the remaining 400 political prisoners. We should also achieve free political activity in all parts of our country especially Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and KwaZulu.”

The following actions would be undertaken:

- Build up pressure on the Government to meet the tripartite alliance’s constitutional demands;
- Mobilise the broadest possible unity, stretching to all corners of the country in order to isolate the Government and its “puppets”;
- Assist dismissed workers by way of regional or selected consumer boycotts, marches, pickets and occupation of offices where they had been employed; and
- March to the Mozambican border on September 29 to protest against the electrification of the fence.
FW blames bloodshed on mass action

PREVIOUS F W de Klerk has blamed the ANC's mass action campaign for the Ciskei bloodshed, saying every violent incident was a setback for negotiations.

The President said: "I did not start that mass action. The ANC did.

De Klerk said SA security forces were not involved in any way. He said he had not installed Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo. The sooner all three the homeland military regimes were converted to civilian ones, the better. 6/04/81972.

"The whole situation could have been avoided by adherence to the guidelines of the Goldstone commission and the ruling of the court," De Klerk said.

He expressed sympathy for the families of the dead and injured.

The ANC alliance laid the blame for the Ciskei killings squarely at government's door. "We are blaming De Klerk for this and we do it without hesitation," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a news conference in King William's Town.

A Cosatu statement said: "It is sickening for F W de Klerk and Herus Kriel to suggest that the unprovoked massacre of peaceful protesters in Bisho was somehow justified by the alleged 'failure' of protesters to abide by guidelines laid down by the magistrate. Nothing could conceivably justify this senseless and brutal massacre."

Cosatu added: "It is common knowledge that Gqozo, his administration, and his security forces are financed and backed by Pretoria."

The NUM blamed the killings on De Klerk and his government and warned: "He will surely reap the whirlwind when the day of reckoning dawns."

The SA Council of Churches appealed to De Klerk and Gqozo seriously to consider its proposal that a referendum be held in the homeland "to test the will of the people". It said this was the only way the explosive situation could be contained.

SACC leaders will visit the area today.

The SA Communist Party has expressed outrage at the killings and asked that the soldiers responsible be brought to book.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said Ciskei should insist on all merce-

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Mass action

names and seconded personnel being sent back to their host countries.

The CP condemned what it termed the intimidation of the Ciskei government by the ANC and SAPC.

GRETIA STEYN reports that dealers retreated to the sidelines with only a few tentative bears venturing forth as the Bisho march dominated sentiment in the financial markets yesterday. Market jitters in anticipation of violence were reflected in weak opening prices for the financial rand and capital market stock.

The finrand fell to a low of 9,3575 on the news, representing a fall of more than 3.5% from Thursday's levels of about 9,2700. It found support at levels below 9,265 with evidence of small buying orders from Switzerland and Germany.

In the gilts market, Eskom's Loan E169

opened at 14.15% and edged up to 14.19% before the shooting. On the news, the stock gained another seven points in a market described as "very nervous."

MERYN HARRIS reports that share prices were supported in rand terms by the sharp drop in the finrand.

Reaction on the futures market was swift with a 60-point decline in the December industrial contract and a sharp drop in the March 1993 all-share futures contract.

The JSE overall index closed four points lower at 3177, and the industrial index ended nine points lower at 4102.

"There was a lot of confusing reports and people did not really know what was happening and were waiting for further developments. The news is worrying but there was no panic selling," a dealer said.
ANC leaders predict more conflict

WOUNDED: ANC marshals attempt to carry a wounded man to safety after Ciskei security forces opened fire on tens of thousands of marchers during the march on Bisho.

Political Staff
BISHO. — ANC leaders have predicted more conflict between Ciskei citizens and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo’s government.

About 2,000 ANC supporters spent the night on the South African side of the border between South Africa and the Ciskei.

SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani said last night: “I can’t see Gqozo being able to contain the anger.

“People will kill members of the Ciskei police and defence force. People will get revenge. There is so much anger and bitterness.”

Speaking shortly after midnight as some demonstrators were toyi-toying around fires and others slept in the road between King William’s Town and Bisho, ANC leader Ronnie Kasrils said the killing of 58 people and the injuring of nearly 200 by the Ciskeian security forces (CSF) had precipitated a national crisis.

Mr Kasrils said he found it incredible that the CSF had not fired the protesters, fired shots into the air or used teargas before using live ammunition.

Both leaders pointed out that some of the marchers had been shot on the South African side of the border by the CSF.

A vigil service is being held at the border and Mr Kasrils said the ANC would assess the situation today.

He said there could be occupations of Ciskei consuls around the country.

Mr Hani warned that the massacre had grave and serious implications for the peaceful resolution of the country’s problems.

“The best South African security forces could do was to fly over us and to protect the whites in King William’s Town,” said Mr Hani.

The SACP leader was in the Bisho stadium when the shooting took place.

“The shooting started two minutes after we arrived in the stadium.”

Mr Kasrils described the shooting as “very scarely” and said all he could do was to keep his head “as close to mother earth as possible”.

“It was the most intensive fire I have ever been under. It lasted for 10 minutes but seemed like double that.”

“It was like a swarm of bees overhead.”
Peace bodies dismayed at lack of tolerance

By Carina le Grange

South Africa's peace bodies last night expressed condemnation of and dismay at the path down which lack of tolerance was driving South Africa.

The statement was made at a joint emergency meeting of the National Peace executive and National Peace Secretariat (NPS) in Johannesburg following the massacre at Bisho on Monday.

Members of both committees undertook a plan of action which included collating witness accounts of monitors working with the bodies as well as top officials who were at the scene.

Peace Committee chairman John Hall and NPS chief Dr Antonie Gildenhuys had both been at the scene.

Monitors and witnesses of all parties to the accord will also be briefed by Mr Hall and Dr Gildenhuys.

They also said they were going to demand that all political leadership abide by the Peace Accord.

"As horrific as the Bisho bloodbath and the recent Natal violence have been, these are yet further manifestations of the unacceptable, ongoing violence brought about by the absence of political tolerance. We are going to demand that all political leadership utilises the Peace Accord mechanisms and that the laws of the land be protected by the signatories," they said.

Dr Gildenhuys, on SABC-TV last night, questioned why live ammunition was used in Bisho.
Pupils may choose to do A-levels and VCEs

Richardson was under Winn's influence

Goot seeks winning plan

Ut to come

Richardson was under Winn's influence

Goot seeks winning plan

Goot seeks winning plan
Unrest putting paid to trade missions

By Frank Jaensch

Visits by at least eight trade missions which were due in South Africa soon have been postponed because of increasing political tension.

The continuing unrest is badly affecting the renewal of trade ties with the rest of the world — a situation the events in Bisho must surely have aggravated.

According to Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JCCI) sources, the countries which should have been represented in delegations, but have now called off visits are: Israel, Sweden, Mauritius, New Zealand, Australian, Denmark and Malaysia.

Thailand is understood to have postponed its mission until November.

The Swedes, who have postponed a visit until early next year, probably expressed the feelings of foreign interests in a fax to the JCCI.

"Owing to the latest events in South Africa, most of the participants (in the delegation) do not

Find it advisable to visit South Africa (this month).

"There is still a key interest in the South African market from our trading and industrial side, but the uncertainty about when to start is a very disturbing factor for the time being.

"Sweden has not yet lifted sanctions against South Africa and the fear is that the Swedish government will be pursuing a wait-and-see policy."

South Africa’s traditional trading partner, Britain, however, remains committed to fact-finding visits, with the latest mission from Manchester now in this country.

Alfie Kane, leader of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and Industry representatives, says: "We are here to get a better picture and we are optimistic rather than pessimistic."

Asked about the general business mood in Britain towards SA, Mr Kane said the perception was that there had to be a way forward and that with the impediments diminishing, significant change must follow."
UN to come at weekend (2/74)

NEW YORK: Leader of the UN observer mission to South Africa has been named as Ms Angela King, a Jamaican UN official.

Her appointment will not be announced officially until Wednesday.

The first 12 members of the team were to leave for SA on Friday, said an spokesman for UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

"Now that the Secretary-General is back he wants to review with them the mission before they leave," he said, without mentioning the massacre on Monday of 24 ANC supporters by local troops in Ciskei.

About 50 UN observers are to come to SA in the coming weeks to study ways of encouraging the transition toward non-racial democracy. — Sapa-AFP CT 9/1/92

Taxi war: Local Road Board ‘uninterested’

THE Local Road Transportation Board (LRTB) showed a complete lack of interest in investigating the causes of the taxi war in the Western Cape.

The Goldstone Commission into taxi violence heard yesterday that this was said by city council consultant and former Cape Town Peace Committee (CTPC) member Ms Helen Zille, during cross-questioning by Mr J. Le Roux, for the Department of Transport (DoT).

Ms Zille said LRTB chairman Mr Stephanus Dorfling had not attended any CTPC meetings to which he had been invited.

She conceded that Mr Dorfling had attended a meeting of the Taxi Liaison Committee (TLC) to explain permit allocation criteria, but had given "what amounted to misinformation".

When Mr Le Roux put it to her that other LRTB and DoT officials had attended TLC meetings, she said the TLC was "ineffective and not addressing the issues".

Ms Zille said she had learned from taxi operators that taxi permits were "randomly and arbitrarily" issued by the LRTB.

When the permit system "got some coherence", the perception developed that the Western Cape Black Taxi Association (Wetba) was receiving preferential treatment over its rival, Lagunya. — CT 9/1/92
ANC was broken, says March
Peace before talks -

Tough response to massacres: Communists have taken ANC in tow.
UN observers on the way

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali announced today that he was sending 50 official UN observers to South Africa this week to monitor political violence in 11 areas of the country, including the homelands.

His announcement follows intensive consultations today with the 15 members of the Security Council following the massacre at Bisho, and includes an announcement setting up a UN observer mission headquarters in Johannesburg.

The action is being taken under the powers vested in him by Resolution 772 of the Security Council, which was passed on August 17, and which has the approval of the South African government.

Unlike the resolutions of the UN General Assembly, all resolutions of the UN Security Council are binding in international law on all UN member states, including South Africa, and it is incumbent on states to do all within their power to ensure compliance with the resolution. South Africa thus would have an obligation to persuade the homelands to accept the UN observers.

Mr Boutros-Ghali said an advance party of 13 observers, under Mr Ismat Steiner of Tanzania, would leave for South Africa tomorrow.
SOUTH Africa's political violence has become so commonplace that only the most exceptional instances — Boipatong and, most recently, the massacre at Bisho — are reported even those American newspapers which pride themselves on their international coverage.

The smaller massacres which occur in Natal, and the weekend lootedings and necklacings in the Vaal triangle, which cumulatively account for vastly more deaths than the Boipatong and Bisho, are almost invariably ignored, even by black-owned newspapers and radio stations. This growing indifference is part of a trend which embraces virtually all of sub-Saharan Africa. The region is slowly being written off by influential Americans at all points on the political spectrum as a hopeless mess of violence and corruption, where disease and famine have become the entrenched natural order and where decades of generous US aid has produced precious few results.

There may be those in the government and the ANC who would contest this view, who would argue that Americans remain deeply concerned and eager to help. But they are only partly right, and ever decreasingly so, for there are some ominous trends to the contrary.

It is an open secret at the State Department, for instance, that a huge cutback in the US diplomatic presence in sub-Saharan Africa is now imminent, with some accounts suggesting that entire embassies will be closed in countries with a population of less than 5 million. The studies now being done, and written about in specialised publications, talk of more than 70 diplomatic posts being eliminated and many more development aid posts being cut.

The US presidential election is in full swing, but neither candidate has bothered to make a definitive statement on Africa, let alone South Africa. The public, as the polls show, couldn't care less — and that goes for most black American voters as well. To some extent the end of the Cold War — during which Africa was an intense arena for superpower rivalry — is a reason for the change, but similar diplomatic retributions are not on in the pipeline elsewhere in the world.

One of the most distinguished Africa analysts in the US, Professor Carol Lancaster of the Foreign Service School at Georgetown University, had this to say in a recent assessment:

"US interest in helping poor countries worldwide to improve their economic wellbeing appears to have weakened greatly in recent years. There is some satisfaction with our past successes (for example, Korea and Taiwan). There is discouragement and frustration with our failures, above all in Africa.

"And there are signs of impatience and fatigue on the part of the US public towards recurring disasters in that unfortunate part of the world.

"Although the past may be a poor predictor of the future aid policies towards Africa, current trends do suggest a likely evolution of the US role in the region. Aid to Africa will decline in dollar and percentage terms. In addition to the possible elimination or merging of some USAID missions, there is a clear prospect that a number of diplomatic missions, unable to justify their existence and expense in the face of budgetary stringencies and demands for resources in other parts of the world, may be closed down or reorganised."

"It seems likely the US diplomats will play less of a role in trying to shape events in the region or — more important — helping Africans to resolve conflicts among themselves."

Can South Africa emerge as an exception to this morass of disillusionment? The country, after all, boasts of being the powerhouse of the continent, where Africa's renaissance and salvation might begin.

There remains tremendous goodwill for South Africa in the US and sense of a deeper logic in the US government, and commitment from both the Department of State and the White House. There is only so much aid that can be given the continent, and the US supports a growing set of economic policies that will bring aid, from the US and other international agencies, to the continent. But the levels of aid and the support for specific projects are limited.

The threat to the US, as much as that posed by the armed forces, is through the spread of disease, especially the Aids epidemic. The US has a huge stake in preventing the spread of the disease, which is costing the US economy billions of dollars in lost productivity. The US also understands that the spread of the disease could destabilise the continent, which would have a direct impact on the US economy.

Moreover, the US sees Africa as a vital region in which to maintain its global influence. The US has a long history of engagement with Africa, and the US sees Africa as a region where it can continue to influence events on the continent. This is especially true in the context of the US's renewed interest in the continent, as evidenced by the US's recent economic initiatives in Africa. The US is also interested in Africa because of its strategic location, as well as its potential for future economic growth.
FOR a Government that for
more than four decades
fiercely resisted foreign interfer-
ence in its domestic affairs, Pret-
toria suddenly has become re-
markably accommodating. Soon
you’ll probably be able to turn a
street corner without bumping
into a foreign observer.
A very good thing it is, too. In
the aftermath of the Ciskei mas-
sary, particularly, South Africa
needs all the help and guidance it
can get. It can stop pretending,
too, that the observers are there
to observe. If they can mediate
in the conflict or in any way
assist the warring sides to find
their way out of the mess they are
in, they should be free to do so.
At least South Africa is not in
intensive care yet, with a UN
peace-keeping force flown in to
patrol no-go zones.
There are 12 such peace-keep-
ing forces in the world at present,
and if there is one more Bolipat-
ong or Ciskei, the clamour will go
up for a 13th force to be sent to
South Africa. The UN has done as much
peace-keeping in the past four
years as in the past 40. This is the
way of the world these days, and
may there be more of it.
(Before long, there may be 50
UN observers in South Africa and
some 15 from the European Com-
mony. In May, a five-member
team from the Organisation
of African Unity (OAU) was ad-
mitted, the Commonwealth has sent
its emissaries, and the National
Peace Committee has invited ex-
President Kenneth Kaunda and
ex-President Julius Nyerere to
mediate in the remorseless con-
lict between the ANC and In-
katha.
Less realistically, the ANC has
proposed that the new Southern
African Development Community
(ex-SADCC) should intervene as a
regional monitor to assist in the
transfer of power to the black ma-
ority (a faint hope), and some
OAU members, against internal
opposition, want the organisation
to create a Bureau of the Summit
to intervene in continental con-
licts. Involvement is now the
name of the game.

The arrival of foreign observers
in South Africa has taken place
with the consent of both the Gov-
ernment and the ANC — because
there is common cause both
among the observers, and also be-
tween them, the Government and
the ANC, to keep negotiations on
track until a settlement is
reached. It is a fairly unique situa-
tion, and one South Africa should
make the most of.
Not only are the numbers of
foreign observers increasing, but
the ambit of their involvement is
widening. By invitation, a Britleak
criminalist, Dr. Peter Wadding-
ton, has delivered a report
that may well turn out to be a catalyst
in dealing with the whole question
of violence. The Government is
also showing a willingness to
allow its policemen to be trained
by foreigners.
Sceptics ask what useful pur-
pose foreign observers can possi-
bly serve in South Africa. The an-
swer should be obvious. South Af-
rican police have become a kind of
spaghetti junction, and a neutral
observer may be just the kind of
person to help unravel it. But
both sides must play by the rules.
There are influential figures in
both the National Party and the
ANC who resent the intrusion of
foreign observers and they should
not be allowed to make these ob-
servers feel unwelcome.

The functions of foreign ob-
servers, it seems to me, is to forge
the political disputants and
then gradually tighten the ring.
They can do this without trans-
gressing South Africa's sover-
ignty (President de Klerk has
acknowledged that their behav-
ior so far has been circumspect)
or by showing a partnership
against the ANC (the ANC, after
all, was primarily responsible for
inviting them).

'Britain's Foreign Secretary
Douglas Hurd spelt out some of
the priorities as foreign observers
see them: time is not on South
Africa's side, there is a limit be-
beyond which a sliding economy
will not easily recover, for recovery
to begin there must first be a politi-
cal settlement, the starting point
for such a settlement is to deal
with township violence, and In-
katha is just as crucial for suc-
cessful negotiations as the ANC
are.

These priorities are well known
to South Africans, but the specific
function of the observers (through
the UN, EC, etc) can be to keep
telling the warring sides to keep
their eye on the ball. Actually,
there are no loopholes through
which either the ANC or the Gov-
ernment can escape. Sooner or
later, the fence will close around
them.

This is the overriding mission of
the observers — to get the Codeta
parties and others back to the
negotiating table. And now that
they are in the country, they
should not easily go away, how-
ever inhospitable the climate may
become.

The wording of the Secuity
Council resolution on the pivotal
issue of violence is their marker
— they will remain involved until
the matter until a democratic, non-rac-
ical and united South Africa is es-
blished.
ANC marches in Gwagwa

By Anthony Makoae and Zepheka

ANC posters deliver demands for homeland leader’s resignation

Gqozo defies pressure

ANC will do it again—Gqozo

Deputy Lekota leads hundreds of loyalist marchers through town’s main street.

ANC marchers in Gwagwa

Thursday September 1992 SOWETAN
FW wants talks over violence

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

The government wants urgent high-level meeting between President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to discuss ways of ending the violence.

And in a television interview last night, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said such a meeting could not take place in a vacuum and that a firm basis for it had to be established first.

"The Government must first remove the existing obstacles to the establishment of democracy in the country before such a meeting can take place.

"If such a meeting fails, there is no hope for this country," Ramaphosa said.

The Government called for the high-level meeting between itself and the ANC following Monday's massacre in Bisho when at least 28 people died and about 200 injured.

Addressing a Press conference after a crucial Cabinet meeting yesterday, De Klerk said the tragedy at Bisho had shocked everyone in South Africa.

Responding to speculation earlier in the day that the Government would withdraw from talks with the ANC, he said (Government) remained "committed to a new, negotiated and fully democratic constitution".

"Related to that is that elections will have to be held as soon as possible. However, we have reached a new point at which violence is making the realisation of these ideals increasingly difficult to attain.

"It is simply not possible to negotiate constitutional issues before the question of violence has been dealt with satisfactorily," De Klerk said.

A meeting of the National Peace Committee is to be called "as a matter of greatest urgency" where all the signatories of the Peace Accord could be present, and the Government would hold talks, too, with all its departments which have security forces under their control.

About the proposed high-level meeting with the ANC, De Klerk said discussions would include the role which "conflict-creating" mass action played in the transition.
ANC to form coalition

A BROAD coalition of political

For Makabola action

secular calls for
Soldier held for murders

A MEMBER of the SADF’s predominantly Zulu-speaking 121 Battalion had been arrested for the murder of Inkatha leader Fana Naimande, his wife and four children in August. Inkatha spokesman Edward Tilet said yesterday.

The Naimande family was reportedly lined up against a wall and gunned down by men wearing what appeared to be brown SADF overalls at a kraal near Richmond.

An SADF spokesman yesterday confirmed that Rifleman Khubane of 121 Battalion, which is stationed at Matatuba, had been arrested for the murders late last month.

The spokesman said Khubane had been on official leave at the time.

Meanwhile, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday 85 people had been killed and 267 injured in violence across the country this week. Sapa reports that these figures include Monday’s Clanwilliam shooting.

The figure for the preceding week was 58 deaths and 54 injuries.

Police said yesterday two policemen had been shot dead in separate incidents in Cape Town and a police constable had been arrested on a murder charge.
Peoples War

The pawns in politicians' cynical war games.
Peace pact 'still useful'
By Brian Sokutu

Despite the National Peace Committee's (NPC) legislative inability to act against signatories who violated the National Peace Accord, it was not time to give up, NPC chairman John Hall said yesterday.

Mr Hall was responding to a question at the Lawyers for Human Rights annual meeting in Johannesburg on whether the NPC planned taking action against Ciskei leader and peace accord signatory Brigadier Gupa Gqozo, for the Bisho massacre. 

"At their own peril politicians ignore the peace accord, which has brought people together and created friendships. We should not let Ciskei cloud the effectiveness of the accord," Mr Hall said.

The NPC had decided to appoint senior political leaders "to be ombudsmen for the NPC at grassroots level," he added.
Hopes high for violence summit

JOHANNESBURG. — Hopes are high in political circles for a breakthrough this weekend in efforts to broker a summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

Chief government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa met yesterday to try to lay the foundations for the summit. They have met every day this week.

It is understood that Mr Ramaphosa cancelled a trip to Europe this weekend to allow him to continue the discussions with Mr Meyer to remove obstacles to the summit.

These include the release of political prisoners and the banning of the public display of cultural weapons, while the government wants assurances on the mass action campaign.

At the National Party’s Transvaal congress in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr De Klerk launched a biting attack on the ANC and took an unusual swipe at the IFP, saying: “It is not Nationalists who assault, intimidate and murder political opponents — it is the supporters of other parties, such as the ANC, the SACP, the PAC, extreme right-wing splinter groups and even Inkatha who are doing that.”

Mr De Klerk said the government was now starting to increase its security force presence sharply in Natal in a bid to stem the bloodshed sweeping the province. — Political Staff, Sapa-Reuter
Political Staff

IN a prepared statement, President F W De Klerk announced four further steps — in addition to the violence summit — to help curb violence:

- The government would ask the Goldstone Commission to clarify urgently the causes of the Biko tragedy and who should be blamed.

"It is not in the national interest of peace that protracted propaganda campaigns should be conducted about this."

- An urgent meeting of the National Peace Committee should be called "within days" so all signatories of the Peace Accord could review their commitments and responsibilities towards the peace process.

- The government was also looking "incisively" at additional and improved methods of controlling mass action to eliminate any violence that might flow from this form of protest.

- The government would hold talks with all official institutions with security forces under their control to ensure a consistent approach in enforcing agreed codes on how marches should be handled. All homelands would be invited to urgent discussions on this issue.

Mr De Klerk said the ANC and the government should discuss the role which "conflict-creating mass action plays in the transition to democracy", the ANC's violation of the Peace Accord and other obstacles to the resumption of negotiations.

Blaming both the ANC and the Ciskei government, Mr De Klerk said everyone in South Africa had been shocked by the Biko tragedy and he expressed the government's condolences to the families of those killed and injured.
Scene set for top-level talks on violence

The ANC announced last night it was prepared to take full responsibility for violence at top leadership level with the Government.

The surprisingly conciliatory decision was made after a 10-day meeting of the national working committee (NWC) to discuss the ANC's reaction to two cases of shootings at the ANC meeting on Monday.

A meeting between the ANC headed by its president, Nelson Mandela, and SA Government delegation led by President de Klerk could not be on the cards. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night.

The decision followed the announcement by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela that they would not block talks between the ANC and the Government.

Mr de Klerk effectively suspended the Government's further participation in constitutional negotiations pending resolution of violence.

The ANC, under increasing foreign pressure to bring Ciskei military build-up to a halt, effectively urged the Government to end the war and said it was ready to use "concise measures" against the ANC.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in a statement that the Ciskei's leader, Mr J'J' Jokoza, had invited the ANC to participate in a peace conference in Pretoria last night and also announced that he had invited the United Nations to step up its operations in the area to stop the violence and get the talks back on track.

The ANC's decision to attend a summit on violence pleased observers who had feared an uncompromising response.

Earlier, foreign governments had urged the ANC to attend the meeting and not to put impossible demands on the Government — such as the removal of the Ciskei leader — as a condition for resuming negotiations.

They urged instead that the ANC should call for the Government to pressure Ciskei leaders to allow full political activity in Ciskei. The ANC is still holding talks about concussive measures — possibly financial sanctions against Ciskei, was seen as helpful in this regard.

The context between the ANC and the Government for winning international favor in the wake of the Ciskei tragedy was by no means clear.

Mr Botha said he had written to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali asking him to present the UN Security Council to endorse "innovative ANC actions" against the Ciskei. Mr Botha added that he had taken the Ciskei to the UN.

Mr Botha said the Ciskei government will not be taken to the UN because the Ciskei has no binding agreement with the UN.

Mr Botha stressed that he would be calling for the UN to play a more effective role in the conflict.

He also warned at the press conference that diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic 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and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplomatic and diplom
PRETORIA. — Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, in a document to the United Nations, has highlighted “disparities” in the way South African massacres are reported and treated, depending on whether the victims are IFP or ANC supporters.

Mr Botha accused the ANC and SA Communist Party of always being the “common denominator” in violence. He said: “Tragic as the loss of life at Bisho is, it is not more tragic than the loss of life of supporters of the IFP.” But massacres of IFP supporters went largely unnoticed in the media.

He referred to the Boipatong killings (at least 39), where the ANC was dominant, and the massacre at Crossroads near Boipatong (more than 20 killed), where the IFP was paramount. Boipatong had become a national crisis and Crossroads “reported almost perfunctorily in the press, quickly disappeared from public consciousness”.

He attributed this to the “superiority of the ANC propaganda machine”. — Sapa
Pik warns of homeland ‘bloodbaths’

A “series of bloodbaths” could ensue if referendums were held in the homelands currently headed by military leaders, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

He told a press conference that the South African government was in favour of civilian rule in these territories and opposed the unrepresentative natures of their current administrations.

But he doubted whether the holding of referendums in the Ciskei, Transkei and Venda were “feasible and practical” given the tense political atmosphere currently prevailing in these areas.

Mr Botha was responding to questions about whether his government favoured proposals by church leaders that a referendum be held in Ciskei to test the support enjoyed by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Mr Botha at first replied that it was “not for me to say” but then added that the South African government was not in principle in favour of military leaders ruling the homelands.

The proposal for a referendum in the Ciskei was mooted last week by local church leaders in a bid to defuse a damaging showdown between the ANC and the Ciskei government.
DP reveals plans for peace drive

By Louise Marsland

The Democratic Party yesterday unveiled plans for a nationwide peace campaign aimed at mobilising ordinary South Africans who were "sick and tired" of violence.

The campaign will kick off with a peace march in Johannesburg next week under the banner "Peace now, negotiation now".

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said there were "millions" of people who supported a moderate, centrist approach to South Africa's problems.
Govt asks UN to send peace envoy

TIM COHEN

WINDSOR — Government has cast aside its remaining reservations about international involvement in SA, calling on the UN secretary-general to send a personal representative to SA.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha told a news conference yesterday that over and above the 65 UN, EC and possibly Commonwealth peace monitors, government had asked UN chief Boutros Boutros-Ghali to send his special representative to assist the national peace secretariat.

Botha suggested the representative attend the proposed meeting of the national peace accord signatories as an observer and enter into talks with the main political role players, with a view to helping to end violence and removing the remaining obstacles to resuming negotiations.

Later, a senior government source said Boutros-Ghali had not yet responded to SA’s request.

Government would like the representative to be the UN’s previous special envoy Cyrus Vance or someone of his standing.

Botha said that until recently, he would not have believed that he would be calling for international intervention in SA.

Sapa reports that Botha said that if violence continued, the industrialised world could withdraw from SA. “My concern is the world is going to forget us. There is a growing tendency in the US and elsewhere to write us off.”

The world looked at the unrest, instability, famine, disputes and wastage of aid.

UN envoy

and tended to accept the marginalisation of Africa south of the Sahara. “If we carry on like this — Belgotong, Bisho — what next? There will come a time when the industrial world will say: ‘Let’s get out of here . . . it’s a messy place.’ The ship will pass us by and then it doesn’t matter who governs the country,” Botha said.

He said government had also urged the UN secretary-general and Security Council members to demand that the ANC/SACP alliance abandon any further provocative actions which put the lives of innocent South Africans at risk.

He criticised Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo for the apparent violation of the national peace accord, but avoided questions about whether SA would apply sanctions against Ciskei. He did say that should Ciskei fail to observe agreed measures to regulate mass action, “then SA will take steps of a coercive nature”. . .

He said SA would welcome a referendum in Ciskei because SA was critical of the non-representative nature of all three of the military governments in the TBVC states. But it was an open question whether a referendum was possible in the current environment.

The 20-page memorandum sent to the UN and released by Botha yesterday stated that government was in contact with the Goldstone commission on the Bisho issue and believed the commission had a role to play.

A commission source said yesterday that the problem was that the commission’s founding legislations restricted it to investigating issues in SA although it was collecting information on Bisho.

□ From Page 1
ANC ready to meet govt on violence

THE ANC is prepared for a delegation led by its president Nelson Mandela to meet a government delegation headed by President F W de Klerk — but has warned of possible disaster for SA if the meeting fails to produce results.

The decision was taken at a meeting of the ANC's national working committee which considered de Klerk's invitation to Mandela on Wednesday for discussions on violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a news conference in Johannesburg last night that the ANC was "ready, willing and prepared to start with the process of preparing for the summit".

A working committee statement said: "A meeting between delegations of the ANC and the government could have some merit if it were to address the problem of violence. But it would be a disaster for the country as a whole if it failed to produce concrete results.

"The ANC is prepared to participate in a summit between ANC and government delegations led by Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk. However, such a summit must be preceded by thorough preparations through the present channel existing between the government and the ANC, as well as practical steps in relation to the demands made by the ANC."

"The failure of such a high-level meeting would take the country "irretrievably backwards", the statement said.

Ramaphosa said government would have to take practical steps to show it was serious about meeting the ANC's preconditions for a return to talks.

At present, formal contact between the ANC and government is restricted to a channel of communication between Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The statement said government now seemed to realise that constitutional negotiations could not proceed meaningfully with the current levels of violence.

"This realisation must mark the beginning of practical actions on the part of the government to address the demands of the ANC and to implement the recommendations of the Goldstone commission, for instance, on the carrying of dangerous weapons and preventing the use of some hostels as launching pads for attacks against communities."

"We trust, too, that the government will take immediate steps to release remaining political prisoners," the statement said.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the demands referred to in the statement were the 14 which the ANC had placed before government when it pulled out of constitutional talks in June.

Ramaphosa said the removal of Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo "who is an obstacle to the creation of a peaceful climate of political activity is a question that is now firmly on the agenda".

He said the ANC would put "the question of Gqozo" to government.

The working committee also called for the security forces of homeland governments to be restrained.

"The steps announced by President de Klerk about consultations with the 'self-..."
UN role at peace meeting unlikely

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — It will be difficult, if not impossible, for the United Nations Secretary General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to agree to a request from Pretoria that he send his representative to a proposed urgent meeting of National Peace Accord signatories.

If he cannot do so, he may ask the leader of an advance team of UN observers in South Africa, Mr. Ismael Steiner of Tanzania, to attend.

However, Mr. Steiner, due to arrive in the country today, would not have the prestige and power of the secretary general’s personal representative.

The request that Mr. Boutros-Ghali send his representative to South Africa was made yesterday in a letter from Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Pik Botha.

Mr. Botha said the government wanted a National Peace Accord meeting “as a matter of the greatest urgency, within a matter of days,” and that the UN representative would assist in the strengthening of the National Peace Secretariat and its regional structures.

UN officials pointed out that Mr. Cyrus Vance, a former United States Secretary of State who has served as Mr. Boutros-Ghali’s representative in South Africa so far, was so preoccupied by the crisis in Bosnia that he had moved his home and headquarters to Geneva.

His mission in Europe had reached a point of such intense activity that the chances of him being able to undertake a mission to South Africa in the next few days were “probably zero,” the officials said.

They added that the chances of Mr. Boutros-Ghali finding a replacement acceptable to the major parties in South Africa in a matter of days, and sending him to the country, fully briefed and ready to play an active role in the peace process, were very slim.

Such a representative, they said, would have to be not only a person “of sufficient stature and ability” but also someone “who clearly would have to be free to be actively involved for some time to come.”

There was also a possibility that the person who would eventually lead the UN observers in South Africa, Miss Angela King of Jamaica, would be asked to fly to the country sooner than expected.
A "WAR" between statisticians would normally attract as much public interest as divisional council minutes or accountancy textbooks. "Normality," however, is something South Africa can never be accused of — particularly when it comes to the country's national passion: violence.

And as the levels of violence spiral out of orbit, do so does the significance of those analysing the phenomenon. In their hands rests the considerable political power to allocate the status of villains and victims. This power, perhaps explains why recent attacks by the Human Rights Commission and the African Institute of Race Relations on the facts and figures produced by the Human Rights Commission have resulted in so many columns of black print in the past week.

"If there is any misleading of the public, it is because the world has such a low opinion of the mass media," an American reviewer once observed about the newspapers of his time. Unfortunately, one might suspect that the media in this country have changed little in the years since.

Many copycats John Kane-Berman is likely to make a strong impression, one way or another. You won't find many people who would like to compare him with their own. For one thing, the grey-haired, 46-year-old is a man of forceful opinions and he seldom holds back from expressing them; for another, those opinions are frequently the stuff of political controversies.

Since his days as president of Wits University's Students' Representative Council, Kane-Berman has always been both an active participant and an opinion-former. During his 10 years as SRC President he wrote a regular column for the Financial Mail, later as a correspondent for the Guardian, Economist and Financial Times.

But Kane-Berman is not a man of many words; he is made up of waving as a very small print...

After his appointment to the SRC in 1973, there is no apparent urgency to begin change in the institution. He articulated it into a body which, for some purpose, was socio-economic and political action and an opinion-former, a body which was often a mouthpiece for some of its influential functionaries.

This reflected a few further factors, too. It was never...
The giants prepare for battle

Angolo’s liberal stance goes no further than its pocket, claims Nunsam. The country’s biggest
union is set to take on the company’s biggest
corporate rivals.

MONTOLI MAKHANYA

Workers threaten all-out strike

Workers at Anglo American Platinum have threatened to stage an indefinite strike on the food merchant company’s premises to press ‘for re-instatement’ of a resignation.

The 1,000-strong workforce was dismissed in June after going on strike demanding that the human resources manager should not take part in the negotiations with the union.

Nunsam claims that Anglo was behind Sibanye’s ‘hard-line approach’ in this year’s negotiations and that the strike was a reaction to a decision taken by Anglo.

Angolo spokesmen Giles Fitzgerald dismissed the claims, saying the response of subsidiaries varied depending on how the strike and trading conditions affected them.

‘Against the background of a severe national economic downturn and soaring unemployment, the companies which dismissed striking workers in order to save their business interest were damaged did so only as a last resort,’ contends Fitzgerald.

Pretoria, 1992

MONTOLI MAKHANYA

A stitch in time to save textile sector

The major players in the clothing and textile industries have established the National Clothing Producers Negotiating Forum, the Textile and Clothing Panel and Textile and Industry director general Stefan Naude this week — will be to advise the government on long-term strategies for the two industries.

The 30 panel members are drawn from government, the textile, clothing and furniture industries as well as raw material suppliers and distributors. Also represented are delegates of the South African Clothing and Textile Workers’ Union (Sactwu) — the industry’s biggest union. Richard Hatty, who chaired a commission into the industries, has been appointed as an additional member.

Because the panel was seen to be unwieldy for the formulation of policy, a smaller task group was also appointed with four members each from labour, business and government. The board of the panel and the task group will be chaired by Traub of Trade and Industry controller Nic Swart.

The panel and business participants have great expectations that the forum will provide a lifeline to the troubled industries as well as give better trade-union strategies due to be discussed at the National Economic Negotiating Forum. Naude warns, however, that the forum is in the process of creating a "stable and competitive" environment, some sectors may have to be"in". It’s not possible to conserve all the sections of the industries concerned," he told The Weekly Mail.

Textile and clothing have been earmarked as a future priority with special consideration towards a new political dispensation: the World Bank has singled out the textile sector as labour-intensive, with low overheads and with considerable job-creation potential.

SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YMCAs

The South African National Council of YMCAs, a national Christian youth organisation, committed to youth advocacy and development, seeks to appoint an inspired and visionary leader to the position of:

NATIONAL GENERAL SECRETARY (DIRECTOR)

The successful candidate, between 30 and 45 years of age, will have executive responsibility for leading the YMCAs to an authentic and relevant response to the needs and aspirations of youths: physical, mental and spiritual. Exposure and experience will include:

Theological and pastoral sensitivity
Youth advocacy, development and discipleship
Organisational change, development and leadership
Community organisation networking and development
International planning and resourcing (including funding)
International diplomacy

The South African YMCA comprises 29 local associations organised under four Regional Councils. Applications should be addressed to:

The National Chairman, P O Box 31045, Bramfontein 2017
( Fax No: (011) 359-7184

Market-related salary/package negotiable.
Elections

they should not be giddy with the success. "It is important to analyse what De Klerk is doing and respond accordingly. We need to put our organisations on an election footing," he said.

"The National Party is already focused on winning an election. We are in the majority but we have to work hard to retain that status.

"The election for a constituent assembly will be the most crucial test of our struggle. Unless we put our organisations and leaders on an election footing we will be surprised at the polls."

Ramaphosa said the ANC would meet the Government on violence, as recommended by the organisation’s national executive committee.

"This includes the immediate release of all political prisoners with no link to amnesty, the fencing of hostels and continuous searches of their premises and effective steps to prevent the carrying of dangerous weapons."

"Tyranny in the so-called independent homelands will have to be addressed, particularly the lack of free political activity in Bophuthatswana."

"Another problem needing attention is the KwaZulu Police and the havoc they continue to wreak on our structures," said Ramaphosa.

"Only after the apartheid regime has done all that will we be able to agree that they have taken sufficient steps to warrant a full meeting."

Mass action must continue, but start preparing for elections. That was the message delivered yesterday to the Congress of South African Trade Unions by Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the African National Congress.

Ramaphosa spoke at the opening of a three-day conference in Johannesburg, where 300 delegates from Cosatu’s 14 affiliates will review mass action and other campaigns.

"The ANC and Cosatu must resolve to build our organisations through mass action. We are going to continue with that in all areas where free political activity is denied."

Oppressive

Ramaphosa said the Blaauwshooting had not deterred the ANC from staging similar marches in Bophuthatswana and in right-wing towns.

"These things are not launched from head office. In planning our campaigns we have to take into account the feelings of the people on the ground. Our people in these places experience the oppressive measures taken against them."

Ramaphosa told delegates that while the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party had "emerged victorious from our mass-action campaign."

To page 2.
Traditional weapons ‘not the problem’

Johannesburg — Firearms, not traditional weapons, were the most often used in attacks, but the IUP’s insistence on the right to carry traditional weapons distracted attention from this.

This was said in a paper released yesterday by the South African Institute of Race Relations. The paper stressed that guns and incendiary devices were the real problem.

The SAIRR said yesterday it had analysed 2,010 incidents of violence which occurred between January 1 and December 31, 1991.

“Firearms were used in 27.9% in the first four months, rising to 31.9% in the next four months, and to 26.7% in the last four months.

“The use of firearms constituted the largest method of attack.”

The use of incendiary methods including arson, petrol bombs, explosives and handgrenades was recorded as 22.2%, rising to 27.6%, but dropping to 10%.

Traditional weapons, by contrast, were used in 17.6%, 13.7% and 11% of the incidents in the three periods respectively.

However, SAIRR executive director Mr John Kane Berman said he did not think the carrying of such weapons at political meetings was “compatible with democratic practice”. — Sapa
Naming of violence probe team

Johannesburg Bureau

The Goldstone Commission is expected to announce, later today, the names of the members of the task force which will assist the commission in probing political violence, a spokesman for the commission said.

The formation of the task force was announced on August 29 and was described by Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee as one of the most important steps taken to counter political violence.

The initial plan outlined by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone envisaged the creation of an elite team of investigators drawn from the ranks of the police and legal circles.

The team, which would be accountable to the commission, would be monitored by United Nations observers.
US group suing over 'weapons for IFP'

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The American Committee on Africa (ACOA), a United States pressure group close to the ANC, is suing the State and Commerce Department for documents it believes will demonstrate the US government has been turning a blind eye as American weapons find their way into the hands of Inkatha warlords.

A court hearing is set for Monday in New York at which a judge is expected to decide whether or not to force the government to hand over the papers ACOA has been seeking under the Freedom of Information Act.

ACOA’s Mr Richard Knight yesterday declined to discuss details of the case beyond saying that he hoped to obtain "a considerable number of documents" relating to licensing of shotguns and ammunition for export to or through South Africa.

It is believed that ACOA will present evidence of what it claims are illegal transactions via Malawi and that a Capetonian may testify, but Mr Knight was elusive on the subject.

Last year, ACOA sent out fund-raising letters headlined "Murder in South Africa — Made in the USA" premised on a claim that US companies had "illegally" sold South Africa some 200,000 shotguns and ammunition between June and December 1990.

Guns of the same type, ACOA said, were being used by Inkatha and other groups against their opponents.
19 die in violence in Natal and KwaZulu

DURBAN. — At least 19 people have been killed in political violence in Natal and KwaZulu since the start of the weekend, police confirm.

Yesterday morning, three people were shot dead by gunmen posing as policemen near Inanda, north of Durban. A survivor said the attackers then opened fire, killing 33-year-old Ms Pikiile Miriam Malinga, her 14-year-old daughter Bongekile and a visitor, Mr Cyril Ndabezinhle Mcineka.

The SAP unrest report said a man was killed in Umlazi, south of Durban, while the body of another man who had been shot dead was found in troubled Murchison on Sunday.

KwaZulu Police spokesman Colonel Moses Khanyile, meanwhile, reported 14 deaths in the region since Saturday.

Four people were shot dead in Zamanzi, Umlazi. The bodies of the men were found with gunshot wounds at 1am on Saturday.

In separate incidents of violence in Umlazi, a man was killed in D Section on Saturday while the body of another man was found near the township's King Zwelithini Stadium on Sunday.

In other attacks at the weekend, two people were killed in KwaMashu, north of Durban, and another two in KwaMakhutha, south of the city.

Three people were killed in Nskezwin Reserve, Inquthu, in northern Natal on Saturday. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

More police for Triangle

PRETORIA. — An additional 385 policemen will be permanently deployed in the Witwatersrand and the Vaal Triangle areas, Internal Stability Division spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Roy Harrald said yesterday.

Colonel Harrald said 50 extra policemen would be deployed in Soweto, 30 in Diepkloof, 119 in Deonetlille on the far East Rand and 175 in Vereeniging in the Vaal Triangle.

He said 86% of unrest-related incidents occurred in these areas. — Sapa
CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE: A gutted taxi bears witness to the taxi war which raged in the Western Cape earlier this year

Like Codesa, the accord is perceived by many as the province of the elite and the leadership, with little relevance in the townships. One Guguletu resident said: "It's something people may have heard about on television, but otherwise it doesn't mean anything."

The accord structures have too few resources to devote to raising community awareness. Some say the Department of Justice has been slow to release the funds it does have.

Political leaders have not stressed the importance of the accord among their constituencies. The result? At the regional and local level, there are "people trespassing all day every day", says the HSRC.

Even consistent participation of the local signatories depends on whim.

"Parties behave like recalcitrant children and just pull out when they don't get their way," says Val Pakay, Peace Accord representative.

The accord also lacks any real power to censure those who violate its provisions. Disputes can be referred to arbitration.

But compliance with the accord now rests largely on the will of the signatories themselves. After a lot of initial rhetoric about tolerance and good will, the violations started and the legitimacy of the accord quickly waned.

The difficulties in forcing compliance, though, symbolise a larger problem: what body in South Africa now has the moral and popular authority to act as a disciplinary power, accepted by all parties?

The Goldstone Commission's high public profile has created a certain kind of accountability. The Goldstone Commission, however, may increasingly find itself caught in the trap of its own and the Peace Accord's making: its findings unavoidably will contradict the sincerely held beliefs of the parties involved — witness the finding that there was lack of evidence of state complicity in the violence.

Alternatively, they may anger those at whom the finger is pointed. The gradual result is an erosion of trust or a refusal to accept the commission's findings.

But, some township residents say, they now feel they have someone other than the police to tell the stories of conflict and violence.

In Cape Town, the current investigation into the causes and evolution of the taxi war may answer questions that could prove crucial for future disputes.

Did procedural weaknesses in the permit system instigate the war? Did the police favour Webta, and thereby fuel the fire? Which solutions worked, and why?

Judging by the intense police cross-examination of witnesses, it is apparent that even the South African Police is slightly nervous about what the Goldstone Commission will find.

The police in Cape Town have also set up a Special Investigative Unit which has recently moved from Culemborg to Bellville — a significant move towards autonomy.

Concrete localised measures such as these hold the greatest potential for the accord. Representatives of political parties, community leaders and the police sit together on the Regional and Local Dispute Resolution Committees.

The accord gets people talking, calls people to account, makes political leadership more responsible — democratic traditions long suppressed in South Africa.

Because it persuaded warring factions to sit at a table they themselves structured, it may be a prologue to the establishment of multiparty democracy.
On Monday, before the ANC march on Bisho, National Peace Accord chairperson John Hall and Antonie Geldenhuys of the National Peace Secretariat flew to Ciskei in an attempt to defuse tensions.

The fatal explosion of those tensions says much about the need for measures such as the Accord and, more grimly, its limitations.

Next Monday the Peace Accord, born of the common purpose of ending political violence, turns a year old.

It was created to combat a national climate of fear by establishing investigative and mediation facilities, and codes of conduct for police and political organisations. The involvement of 29 major national political players seemed a sign that peace had a chance.

Many of the accord structures are only now being put in place, but already questions about its influence and — worse — relevance, are being asked. The most obvious measurement of the accord’s effectiveness — the amount of political violence — has not significantly decreased in the past year.

“The number of incidents may have gone down,” according to the HSRC, “but each incident is more serious, in the number of people killed or injured, than it was a year ago.” Boipatong and Bisho are only the most publicised examples.

But who can say what would have been, had the accord not been signed? During mass action in August, most of the police wore name-tags, the ANC received permission for most of its marches, and there was actually communication between the two — steps at least in part attributable to the Peace Accord.

The Peace Accord has national and international stature; the visit of the UN observers was partly coordinated through Peace Accord structures. At grassroots level, though, credibility suffers. One year after its signing, many on the ground have little awareness of the accord and its provisions.
Year of v marks pe

The Goldstone Commission has also been promised a crack investigating team, likely to be headed by one of the few universally credible members of the SAP, Maj Frank Dutton, the man who brought the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

But the list of failures recorded over the past year is far more spectacular than the successes.

The appointment of special Justices of the Peace, who would investigate and mediate violence, has so far been a waste of time and resources.

The failure of various government ministers and of the Attorney-General to investigate and prosecute those responsible for the violence has been a failure of the state to uphold the rule of law.

The failure to provide adequate resources for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has been a failure of the state to provide justice to the victims of violence.

The failure to prosecute those responsible for the violence has been a failure of the state to uphold the rule of law.

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which they are called upon to pursue.  

For instance Deputy Justice  

Minister Danie Schutte stated  
in February this year that Gold-  

stone's recommendations of a  

major shake-up of policing in  

the Mool River/Brentville area  

would be pursued "as soon as  

possible". To date no changes  
have been made.  

Similarly, the Commission  
handed over a dossier to the  

Transvaal A-G in respect of the  

attempted assassination by  

members of the SAP of  

Schweizer-Reinke activist Jer-  

ry Maine - but no case has yet  
come to court.  

The war talk which all par-  

ties indulge in, despite written  

undertakings to work towards  

the promotion of peace.  

For these failures, there ap-  

pears to be little excuse.  

The real problem is that the  

whole process is being under-  

written by power politics, and at  

the risk of sounding banal,  

many of the signatories to the  

accord are bringing agendas  

other than peace to the peace  
desk.  

In such cases moves towards  

peace and reconciliation have  

seemingly been sabotaged by  

the intervention of senior politi-  

cal players. For example, the  

interference of IFP Youth  

Brigade leader Thembu Khosa,  
in the formation of LDRCs on  

the Reef.  

After an agreement had been  

reached in Meadowlands, which  
guaranteed that in the event of  

trouble in the area a senior tri-

bally mandated resident of the  
local hostel would be available  
to intervene, Khosa insisted that  
the representatives had no mandate  
and instituted a rotational sys- 

tem of crisis representation,  

which community members  

claim is entirely unworkable.  

As a result the LDRC has  
effectively ceased to operate.  

Equally open to question is  

the role of the security forces in  

the peace process. There have  

been allegations of police par-  

tiality in favour of the IFP, and  

doctrine to react to requests  

made by Peace Accord repre- 

sentatives for them to intervene  
in particular outbreaks of vio- 

lence.  

Apart from this however,  

there are some more concealed  
indications as to why the Peace  

Accord has failed to live up to  
expectations.  

Of the 11 LDRCs in existence,  

no less than eight are chaired  
by whites. This stands in some- 

thing more than inverse relation  
to the nature of the violence,  
which is almost exclusively  
located in black areas.  

While the facts are under-  
standable - chairmen are ap- 
inonted by consensus and thus  

relatively neutral observers will  

be more likely to be elected than  

representatives of warring fac- 

tions - it is also deeply problem- 
atic.  

Such potential chairmen also  

represent interests in the  
broader scheme of things. Inter- 
ests such as business and the  
NP - both of which in general  
have a long history of antagon- 
ism to the ANC alliance.  

In recent weeks the problem  
has manifested in support given  
by Peace Accord structures to  
the notion of hosting interna- 
tional observers of the violence  
under the banner of the Peace  
Accord.  

The ANC alliance has ex- 
pressed serious reservations  
about the idea, yet the Accord  
supported it, for the simple rea- 
son it was regional chairs who  
were consulted and not the  
LDRCs or DRDCs as consti- 

tuted.  

More to the point is a confi- 
dential Transvaal NP document  
in existence which deals with  
the question of the "Expansion  
of the NP in the Transvaal".  

Basically strategizing a hearts  
and minds campaign, the docu- 
ment is particularly concerned  
with the need to make contact  
with potential black voters and  
to present itself as.  

It goes on to say the percep- 
tion that the "NP cares" must  
be established. It adds the NP  
offers a "safe haven, and ex- 
ports its membership to create  
anti-violence, anti-crime struc- 
tures and programmes" and  
"gets involved in regional and  
local dispute resolution commit- 
tees.  

That kind of electioneering  
by means of the accord is pre- 
cisely the problem which has  
bedevilled our country's search  
for peace.
COMPANIES

Futures exchange reduces net losses

The SA Futures Exchange (Safex) Clearing Company reduced its net losses to R1,3m in the year ended June from R3,5m last year.

The combined losses of R3,7m in 1990 and R464,655 in 1991 slashed the R2,2m profit made during 1992. Turnover grew by 29% to R3,6m from R3m during 1991.

The company transferred R150,900 to the Fidelity Fund during 1992. An amount of 20c a contract is taken from clearing fees and transferred to the fund, which can be used to pay claims against members of the exchange.

The average number of contracts processed and cleared a day by the clearing company rose by 22% to 3,244 in 1992 from the previous year's 2,651.

The directors expected 1993 to be a successful year. They said the exchange was comfortably ahead of budget in the first two months of this financial year and had adequate reserves to meet demands.

Safex would investigate the possibility of introducing commodity futures and would also conduct a cost benefit analysis on automated trading.

It had applied to the Reserve Bank to allow non-residents to trade on the options-futures market, and the go-ahead was expected before the end of the year.
The ANC’s carefully phrased acceptance of President FW de Klerk’s invitation to a peace summit following last Monday’s Bisho bloodbath was a triumph for the moderate leadership over the movement’s radical wing whose influence was threatening to become dominant.

While it would be wrong to blame the ANC for the massacre, the attempt to turn the protest march in Ciskei into a storming of the bantustan’s capital represented a turning point in ANC strategy which reflected the growing influence of the radicals.

The bloodbath which the charge ran into has discredited the radicals’ headstrong approach, and during the National Working Committee’s long post-mortem meeting on Thursday the tide of influence turned back towards Nelson Mandela and the other moderates who are eager to return to the negotiating table.

So paradoxically the disaster has given negotiations another chance.

But it will be short-lived unless De Klerk, too, switches priorities and puts negotiations ahead of the political gamesmanship he has been engaging in ever since his white referendum victory last March.

The root cause of South Africa’s nosediving prospects is that both the major political movements, the ANC and De Klerk’s National Party, have been electioneering and negotiating simultaneously - and the two activities are not compatible.

Negotiation involves concession and compromise and the building of mutual trust. Electioneering is a time when each side engages the other in combat and seeks to do as much damage as possible.

The more these two movements campaign for South Africa’s first one-person-one-vote elections, the more they undermine the negotiating process, and by the end of 1990, both De Klerk and Mandela have not faced up to the implications of their own acts of courage.

He has not accepted that the inevitable consequence of legalising black politics in a country where blacks outnumber whites seven-to-one is that the blacks will rule. And in South Africa that almost certainly means the ANC, which blacks have long regarded as their main liberation movement.

Instead the Nationalists have persuaded themselves that with a little manipulation and cunning they can remain in power themselves. Foreign Minister Pik Botha told the party’s Free State congress a fortnight ago that with the help of black homeland leaders it could win 51 percent of the vote. It was encouraged in this belief by the relative success of its surreptitious aid to DK Mudge’s Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Nambha’s 1990 independence elections, when it pumped aid into the DTA and ran a covert destabilisation campaign against the South West African Peoples’ Organisation.

Although Swapo won, the DTA did sufficiently well to lead the NP to believe that with a bigger and better campaign it could succeed on its home ground. De Klerk’s big referendum win encouraged that belief, which has shaped his strategic thinking ever since. The strategy is modelled on Nambha’s - destabilise the enemy and build a domestic alliance like the DTA.

There is now a massive accumulation of evidence indicating that clandestine elements of the security forces have been stirring township violence to destabilise the ANC. At the same time De Klerk has set about forging a multi-racial alliance with some of the black homeland parties and Coloured and Indian political groups that arose under the apartheid system.

This has provoked an ANC counter-strategy. The escalating township violence, while destabilising the ANC, has also radicalised its constituency.

“You are like lambs while they are killing us,” angry voices yelled at Mandela at a rally after the Boipatong massacre in June. The ANC was forced to respond to this wave of anger to avoid alienating its constituency.

The mood also strengthened the radical wing, which consists mainly of trade unionists and Communist Party members who are not part of the negotiating team, and, isolated from the mellowing influences of the negotiations, are still steeped in the culture of the revolutionary struggle.

So the balance of influence began to shift. The ANC broke off negotiations and launched its mass action campaign, with a general strike and protest marches. Some radicals began talking of a “Leipzig option”, referring to the mass demonstrations that toppled Erich Honecker’s East German regime.

The massacre at Bisho was unexpected by the radical ANC leaders, who did not think the troops would fire at a crowd that size.

They were wrong and while the crime of butchering 28 unarmed people clearly lies with the Ciskei army and its masters, the miscalculation of the ANC radicals has clearly discredited them.

Allister Sparks sees as the root cause of South Africa’s current crisis the fact that the two opposing factions - the ANC and the NP - have been negotiating and electioneering simultaneously - and these activities are not compatible.
3,400 die since signing of accord

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

The National Peace Accord was signed a year ago today, but figures show that violence has increased by 28.5 percent since, instead of decreasing as planned.

According to figures supplied by the Human Rights Commission (HRC), 3,400 people have been killed in political violence in the last year, compared with a figure of 2,649 in the year before the accord was approved.

HRC director Dr Max Coleman yesterday said the figures showed that in statistical terms, the accord had been a failure.

He said the major weakness of the accord had been its inability to deal with the covert activities of hit squads and undercover "special forces".

Although the NPA had not fulfilled its initial potential, recent positive developments such as the introduction of international observers and the provision of the Goldstone Commission with investigatory powers could help the accord have more impact on political violence.

Dr Coleman said.

ANC spokesman Dave Stewart said one of the failings of the accord was that not all of the signatories had abided by its terms.

"The challenge for all political parties is to make sure the accord starts work. The accord gives the framework for parties to pursue the objective of peace," said Mr Steward.

He added that the presence of international observers should make a difference to the adherence of the signatories to the terms of the accord and thus make an impact on political violence.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said it was impossible to expect a piece of paper to stop violence in a volatile situation "if the political will is not there to adhere to its terms".

Miss Marcus added that the financial resources and infrastructure to fulfil some of the terms of the accord had not been provided.

"It takes money to set up local dispute resolution committees and other infrastructures on the ground," she said.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos said it was a tragedy that violence had increased in the last year.

"But maybe it is too soon to tell and to reap the benefits," she said.

National Peace Commission chairman John Hall and National Peace Secretariat chief Dr Antonie Gildenhuys could not be reached for comment last night.

But at an emergency meeting last Tuesday night, both men said they would demand that all political leaders abide by the terms of the accord.

"As horrific as the Bisho bloodbath and the recent Natal violence have been, these are yet further manifestations of the unacceptable, ongoing violence brought about by the absence of political tolerance.

"We are going to demand that all political leadership utilises the peace accord mechanisms and that the laws of the land be protected by the signatories," they said in a statement.
Responding to a report that the government was poised to give him his marching orders following the Bisho massacre, he said: "I don't think they have a chance of playing that game — of selling me down to the ANC as openly as that."

Brig Gqozo spoke on his return from the KwaZulu capital Ulundi where he had been given a hero's welcome by both Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Zulu king.

On the Agenda programme Mr Ramaphosa said that ANC wanted to see practical steps on the ground to stop the "cancerous violence" in the country.

These involved the question of political prisoners, the implementation of security measures at hostels in line with Goldstone Commission recommendations and a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons throughout the country.

While the question of an interim government and a constituent assembly — two of the ANC's original 14 demands before negotiations could be resumed — had more-or-less been satisfied, the issue of political prisoners and the 31 demands on violence had not yet been met.

Mr Meyer said it was "time for us to stop playing political games in this country".

He said the government was not opposed in principle to mass action, but it rejected mass action that led to confrontation and violence and this issue had to be addressed.

The government was also concerned about the role of the communists within the ANC.

"Unless we can resolve that, as well, we will time and again come back to the same problem."
Elite force to combat violence

Five special units appointed in key areas countrywide:

SOWETAN, 14/9/92

The Goldstone Commission this weekend announced its elite strike force to combat political crime and violence in the country.

The elite strike force, comprising 26 advocates, attorneys, South African Police and South African Defence Force officers, will head five special investigation units and will report directly to the Goldstone Commission.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said at the weekend: "Information obtained by the units which is or may be relevant to any criminal investigation, if appropriate, will be furnished by the Commission to the SA Police, or the relevant police force of a self-governing territory.

The information obtained by the units will be relevant as far as the commission is concerned or in so far as it may enable it to carry out its main terms of reference which are to ascertain the causes of public violence and to recommend ways of curbing it."

The units will be based in Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg; East London; Port Elizabeth and Maritzburg."
UN mission arrives in SA

FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT International

groups to play role in peace process in SA:

South Africa's difficult and violent political transition yesterday officially opened up to international scrutiny.

The first group of an expected 50 United Nations observers arrived in South Africa yesterday and an Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU) mission of eight experts arrives here today.

Both groups will help monitor violence crippling the peace process.

Yesterday's pilot party of 18, led by a UN official from Tanzania, Mr. Issat Steiner, was met on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport by Mr. Thabo Mbeki and Mr. Aziz Pahad of the ANC's department of international affairs, and the National Peace Secretariat's Dr. Anthony Gildenhuys and Mr. Corrie Bezuidenhout.

Pahad said the arrival of the UN team was particularly significant in that it gave South Africa's traumatic transition "an international dimension" and was sure to have "a positive effect on the transition".

The PAC's secretary for Relief and Aid, Ms. Patricia de Lille, said "the objective" of liberating black people in the country was being blunted by the continuous violence.

She said: "The PAC (and ANC) have become so busy with funerals and bringing peace to the country..."

The remaining UN observers are due in the country at various intervals over the next month and will ultimately be headed by Jamaican UN official Ms. Angela King.

Today's arrival of OAU officials follows consultations between the president of the PAC, Mr. Clarence Makwetu, and OAU Secretary-General H.H Salim Ahmed Saleh in Jakarta recently.
UN observers will meet leaders today

Ray Hartley

THE 16 UN observers who arrived in SA yesterday would meet political leaders and begin making arrangements for their Durban and Johannesburg offices today, deputy UN mission chief Ismail Steiner said yesterday.

The monitors would adhere closely to UN resolution 772 which required them to observe potential conflict situations and report directly to UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Steiner, who is from Tanzania, met national peace secretary, chairman Antonie Gilderhuys last night to plan activities. He met Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer and ANC officials Thabo Mbeki and Aziz Pahad earlier.

Steiner said they hoped to strengthen national peace accord structures.

Steiner said a second group, including mission leader Angela King, was expected in the next 10 days. A total of 55 observers would be in the field when the monitoring team was at full strength in October.

He said King would head the team's Johannesburg office and he would head the Durban office.

• Picture: Page 3
UN peace team here

\textbf{SIGH OF RELIEF} Liberation organisations welcome the arrival of OAU and UN monitors:

The arrival today of Organisation for African Unity observers and yesterday of United Nations peace monitors has opened South Africa's violent and traumatic transition to international scrutiny.

Both the ANC and PAC yesterday said the foreign monitors and observers would bring a degree of "neutrality" to the transition and help curtail the violence. They said the monitors would ease the pressure on the liberation movements.

See story page 2
The ANC is set to numberOfRows in the coming weeks as the national elections approach. The ANC's approach to campaigning following the announcement of the elections has been one of focus and discipline, with party members encouraged to remain calm and measured in their approach to the electoral process.

The ANC has launched a new campaign slogan, "For summit out its terms ANC specials Conditions must be met first," which has been rolled out across various media platforms. The slogan aims to reinforce the ANC's commitment to delivering on its promises and to ensure that the people's voices are heard in the upcoming elections.

The ANC has also launched a series of voter education campaigns, aimed at ensuring that voters understand their rights and responsibilities during the election process. The campaigns have been designed to tackle common misconceptions and to provide clear and concise information on how to vote and what to expect on election day.

In addition, the ANC has been working closely with various stakeholders, including political parties and civil society organizations, to ensure that the electoral process is fair and transparent. The ANC has also been engaging with grassroots communities to ensure that their voices are heard and that their concerns are addressed.

Overall, the ANC is facing a challenging election period, but the party is determined to emerge stronger and more united. The party is confident that with the support of the people, it will deliver on its promises and continue to lead the country towards a brighter future.
Optimistic negotiators meet to pave
First step

Political Staff

THE chief government and ANC negotiators met today to pave the way for a peace summit between President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

The meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa was confirmed by government and ANC sources.

It is taking place just a week after the Bisho massacre and follows the ANC's conditional acceptance last week of Mr De Klerk's invitation to a summit.

Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa indicated last night that a number of issues had to be resolved before the summit.

Mr Meyer said the ANC mass action campaign, the Communist Party's role in the ANC and the ANC's political intolerance were among the issues the government wanted to discuss.

He did not foresee difficulties in overcoming these obstacles, as he and Mr Ramaphosa had been close to agreement in earlier meetings, but he said he would not negotiate on the basis of demands.

Mr Ramaphosa said the government must address ANC demands for the release of political prisoners, a crackdown on hostels and a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons.

Carnage

These issues could be resolved in "one or two meetings" if the government was prepared to cross "the democratic threshold".

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC would not continue constitutional talks when "violence and carnage were continued by people in government circles".

Hopes for peaceful ANC marches against homeland governments were raised by the arrival in South Africa of United Nations observers and the Goldstone Commission's appointment of independent teams to investigate violence.

The teams may monitor the ANC alliance's planned march on Saturday on Bophuthatswana's capital, Mmabatho.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said that although his commission had no jurisdiction in Bophuthatswana, he would apply for permission to monitor the march, and he hoped the presence of monitors would "put a brake on people's conduct".

The vanguard of a 50-strong UN observer team, which will spend six months in South Africa observing political violence, arrived at the weekend.

The leader of the advance team, Mr Ismat Steiner of Tanzania, said his immediate objectives were to meet the signatories of the National Peace Accord and establish offices in Johannesburg and Durban.
Johannesburg. — The Transkei government would never allow the Goldstone commission to probe violence arising from political protests in the homeland, Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

"The Goldstone Commission is a commission of inquiry in South Africa. We are an independent territory and Goldstone is not our Messiah. We can also draw up better terms of reference than he currently has," General Holomisa said.

He added that his government's resolve to allow the commission to operate in the homeland also stemmed from the fact that "the commission is an agent of the national peace accord — to which we are not signatories".

"The commission should be restructured and given new terms of reference (before it can be allowed to operate in the Transkei)," General Holomisa said without elaborating.

His statement came a day after Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the homeland was the only TBVC state which had refused his commission permission to operate in it.
The accord ... a year down the line

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE National Peace Accord (NPA), despite its failings, has contributed significantly to the reduction of violence and the promotion of peace, said National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

But he said “in general” violence seemed to have increased, a fact borne out by figures released by the Human Rights Commission (HRC) which reflect an increase of 28.5 percent in violence since the signing of the accord a year ago today.

According to the HRC, 3,400 people have died in political violence in the last year, compared with a figure of 2,649 in the year before the accord was signed.

Dr Gildenhuys said a lot still had to be done to promote peace.

“Socio-economic reconstruction of deprived communities must receive the greatest priority.”

The marketing of the Peace Accord had to be intensified and the procedures for adjudication on complaints of breaches of the Code of Conduct for political parties had to be refined.

“But when all is said and done, the conclusion must be that a lot has been achieved. Violence which has been avoid-

ed seldom makes headlines,” he said.

“The question is whether we are better off with than without the Peace Accord? The answer must be that despite its failings, the Peace Accord is contributing significantly to the reduction of violence and promotion of peace.”

HRC director Dr Max Coleman said the figures showed that in statistical terms, the accord “has been a failure.”
The International Stage Continued
According to The HIC, in the 15 months before the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement, the conflict in the country has been recorded in a variety of reports. The Human Rights Commission published a report on an increase of 38% in political violence and 8 to 80% in judicial observers and monitors. The report included the assessment that the process of peace and security in the country was still not fully satisfactory.
A SUMMIT meeting on violence between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela is unlikely to take place before next month because of the organisation's insistence that key demands be met first.

A senior ANC negotiator close to yesterday's talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said agreements still had to be reached in preliminary talks.

Then government would have to take "visible and tangible steps" to implement these agreements before the ANC was prepared to allow Mandela and his delegation to meet De Klerk.

More obstacles to 'violence summit'.

The source said government had to be seen to be moving practically on demands for tighter security at hostels, a blanket ban on unlicensed weapons and the release of political prisoners.

The prisoner issue was crucial. "First we want to see our prisoners walk free. Not necessarily all of them but at least some, which we have identified, before we will go to the summit," he said.

He also disclosed that the preliminary talks would also be broadened into full bilateral meetings as the delegations would be enlarged from the one-on-one meetings.

Summit (From Page 1)

The source indicated Meyer was demanding the ANC forgo mass action, and that his political intolerance and the SACP's role in the ANC be discussed in preliminary meetings. He said the ANC was demanding Meyer make good his promise made on television on Thursday, to deal effectively with ANC demands.

The ANC has identified 18 hostels on the Rand that are a serious cause for concern in relation to continuing violence. The ANC was not insisting that the whole package of developing and upgrading the hostels be completed, but wanted to see a start made, he said.

Government was being held to agreements reached at previous summits — and the prisoner release was the key issue. "We want to see (Mageni's) Bar bomb" Robert McBride walk free, along with some of the others," he said.

To Page 2.
DP march is a foray into mass action

THE DP-initiated march for peace and negotiations today through the centre of Johannesburg marks the party's first foray into the controversial territory of mass action.

DP leader Zach de Beer and justice spokesman Tony Leon, formerly strong opponents of mass action marches because of the adverse effects on the economy and marches' propensity for violence, yesterday called on employers to allow their staff time off work for the march.

However, local DP city representative Jack Bloom said the march would be free of violence and intimidation and different from those of the ANC "because in our case there will be no toyi-toying".

Leon said the DP guaranteed that the march would be peaceful and free of intimidation.

He did not spell out how the organisers would ensure this, as it was open to all.

Many parties and organisations, including the Black Sash and the Five Freedoms Forum, will participate.

Leon said the march was the perfect mechanism for the ordinary man in the street to express his demand and send a message to political leaders to get on with negotiations immediately, and also to move on towards creating peace.

"All parties must immediately re-enter negotiations and recognise that only through open-ended discussions will we create a durable constitution," he said. This was the DP's most important demand, he said.

But he took a swipe at the SACP and the security forces in stating the second demand of the "March for Negotiations Now! Peace Now!" action.

He said: "Communist Party-style mass action and oppressive security responses thereto must end. These are jeopardising prospects for a peaceful future."

The march will begin at the Civic Spine's Library Gardens and proceed up Rissik Street to the Civic Theatre, where De Beer and International Pentecostal Church of SA president Frederick Modise will address the expected crowd.

Leon said the DP had called on employers in the CBD to allow their employees time off between 12.30 and 2pm.

Motorists who could not participate were called on to show solidarity by driving with their headlights on during the march.

The DP southern Transvaal executive resolved on Sunday that people should encourage all those who identified with the purpose of the march to wear a blue ribbon or to place one on their vehicles, Leon said.
UN monitors expected in violence-racked Natal

DURBAN — Six UN unarmed monitors are expected in Natal tomorrow as political violence continues to sweep through townships with attacks and killings reaching levels last experienced in the mid-1980s.

Sapa reports another eight people were killed in an ambush on a van in Umgababa on Natal's South Coast yesterday, exactly a year after the national peace accord was signed.

Weekend violence claimed at least six lives in the province.

Regional ANC and Inkatha spokesmen yesterday welcomed the decision to dispatch two of 16 UN personnel to end the violence in Natal.

ANC secretary general Duma Nkosana Madikizela said international monitors were needed to end the violence.

Inkatha spokesman Thamsanqa Khoza called the decision a "positive move".

Madikizela said the peace accord had not worked in Natal and welcomed "any international involvement that can create a climate of peace".

The monitors will be stationed in Durban, Maritzburg, Umzimkulu and Port Shepstone.

TIM COHEN reports.

Accord a failure

DEATHS in political violence increased by 28.5% to 3,400 since the signing of the national peace accord a year ago, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) said yesterday.

"In statistical terms the accord is a failure if one measures the levels of violence before and after the accord," said the HRC's chairman, Mark Manley.

Peacemakers had "failed the people" and were "hypotheses".

The peace accord "failed to do what it was supposed to do".

The HRC had been "fearful and uncertain" about the accord's success.

The HRC had been communicating with the UN and had "wanted to keep the accord going".

"The general consensus seems to be that we are moving back along the same path towards peace," said Manley.

He said a HRC suggestion to the accord had been that African language was being used, but that summaries of the accord were being circulated to make it understandible.

HRC national director general Faruq said the accord had not been translated into African languages and was not understood by the average person.

The HRC had been "probing for a solution".

A special investigative squad attached to the Goldstone Commission and the establishment of a Winde report.

RAY HARTLEY reports.

One killed, two hurt before march

WILSON ZWANE

ONE person died and two were injured in the East Rand township of Vosloorus early yesterday — hours before residents converged on the local town council offices to demand an end to seizures of rent-defaulter's properties.

Vosloorus Civic Association (VCA) spokesman Jabulani Duma said unknown Gunners in a minibus opened fire on residents preparing to march.

Police spokesman Capt Ida van Zyl confirmed the incident.

The council agreed to cease attaching properties until the two parties met again next week.

Municipal officials, accompanied by policemen, broke into the homes of rent defaulter "and seize whatever takes their fancy," a resident said.

Vosloorus town clerk George Prinsloo said he was not aware people's homes were being broken into.

"I would assume that if the lawyers attach people's properties, they do that with a court order," he said.

One killed, two hurt before march
Prisoners go free, or no summit?

JOHANNESBURG. — The summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela will not get off the ground this month because the organisation insists on prisoners first being released.

A senior ANC negotiator, close to the one-on-one talks between Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa said this yesterday following the first day's meetings.

"We want to first see our prisoners walk free. Not necessarily all of them but at least some, which we have identified, before we will go to the summit," he said.

He also revealed that the current talks would be broadened into full bilateral meetings.

He added the 2½-hour meeting yesterday was mostly procedural and set the agenda for today's serious negotiation on the ANC's three demands. The meeting would in all likelihood spill over to tomorrow.
March on Mangope is off, but ...

ANC alliance intensifies mass action

The ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance — stung by accusations of recklessness during last week’s march on Ciskei — yesterday hit back by announcing an intensified mass action programme.

The mass action will unfold even as preparations get under way to haul constitutional negotiations back on track.

However, a planned march into Bophuthatswana to unseat President Lucas Mangope was yesterday called off during a meeting in Johannesurg of alliance representatives.

ANC campaigns committee chairman Romme Kasrils said: “Preparations in Bophuthatswana have not been adequate for any action by this weekend.” It is understood the repercussions of the Ciskei incident in which 29 people were killed, and the relative weakness of the ANC in the western Transvaal, played a role in the decision.

But both Cosatu and the SACP gave additional impetus to the mass action campaign yesterday. Cosatu deputy secretary-general Sam Shiroya, speaking after a weekend Cosatu campaigns conference, said mass action and negotiations were not mutually exclusive. And the SACP said it was acting “within the constitutional limits”.

“Cosatu’s actions include a regional stayaway in the eastern Cape to coincide with the funeral on Friday of the Ciskei victims, a march to the electrified fence on the Mozambique border, a week of marches and other protests from October 11 to demand the release of political prisoners, and an attempt to prevent the sitting of Parliament on October 12 by mounting large-scale occupations and blockades of towns and cities.

Cosatu said marchers should stop delivering memorandums but should demand responses.

Cosatu set November 1 as a target date for it and the ANC to stop paying PAYE to government and November 1 as a target date for employers to stop paying PAYE. In addition, Cosatu announced campaigns against companies responsible for dismissing workers during the August stayaway.

The SACP — defending the actions of its central committee members at Bishops — lashed out at what it called the victimisation of white communists for what had happened at Bisho, and said mass action had strengthened the alliance.

“Everywhere in mass action, throughout the length and breadth of our country, the red flag of our party has been in evidence,” a party-central committee statement said.

The committee said it had noted a very significant shift in the balance of forces in favor of the broad liberation movement.

“This shift is due notably to the three months of rolling mass action for peace and democracy throughout our country. The central committee salute the millions of South Africans who have taken part in the mass action campaigns.

“We call upon them to intensify the struggle for a constituent assembly, an interim government of national unity and for the extension of free political activity to every corner of our country,” the statement said.

The SACP reaffirmed its commitment to a negotiated settlement and said it backed the ANC’s decision not to meet Dr. de Klerk until he had responded satisfactorily to the ANC’s demands.

Both Cosatu and the SACP said Dr. de Klerk would also have to take concrete steps to end violence before a summit could take place. These were in regard to banning pistols, banning dangerous weapons, retiring in proxy forces and releasing political prisoners.

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(748)
ANC, government still search for crucial summit on violence

Political Staff
THE ANC and government's top negotiators are meeting today to continue efforts to arrange a crucial summit on violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, appearing in a television debate on Sunday, identified three obstacles to be removed before the summit — release of political prisoners, hostels and dangerous weapons.

ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said last night: "The ANC is addressing concerns constituting obstacles in the way of the summit, in particular the demands made by the national executive committee and concern about practical movement by the government on these demands."

Mr Meyer said in the debate that these issues could be resolved relatively easily because he and Mr Ramaphosa had come close to agreement on them in earlier discussions.

The ANC demanded the immediate release of remaining prisoners, the fencing off of hostels and the installation of security measures around them and the prohibition of dangerous weapons countrywide.

No date has yet been set for the summit and the discussions on preparations for the violence summit could take all week.

There is concern in ANC circles that the government could renege on public statements that these obstacles should be removed as part of preparations for the summit.

President De Klerk invited the ANC to a summit on violence last week and the ANC's national working committee accepted, subject to conditions.

President De Klerk said the government would like to put the ANC's mass action campaign on the agenda of the violence summit.

The violence summit has now become the key to a return to formal constitutional negotiations which have been suspended since June.

Yesterday's meeting of the ANC and government in Pretoria was attended by several senior negotiators from both sides.
UN head picks envoy for SA

HUGH ROBERTON
The Argus/Foreign Service
NEW YORK — United Nations Secretary General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has appointed distinguished former UN official Mr Virendra Dyal as his special envoy to South Africa.

Mr Boutros-Ghali has instructed Mr Dyal to pursue the government's request for UN help in strengthening the functioning of the National Peace Accord.

Mr Dyal is a former Under-Secretary General of the UN and he will be assisted during his mission by the director of the Department of Political Affairs, Mr Hisham Omuyad.

The seniority of the two men within the UN structure indicates the importance which Mr Boutros-Ghali places on their mission.

They will arrive in South Africa within the next 48 hours and will remain in the country until September 22.

Officially they will hold "follow-up discussions" in connection with the implementation of Security Council Resolution 772 of August 17, but they have been given a wide-ranging mandate with the authority to interpret it as they feel necessary.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, as well as representatives of the government, the ANC and other groups.

Essentially the mission will attempt to reinforce efforts to end political violence and will seek to entrench the UN presence as a neutral monitoring body.

Last week Mr Boutros-Ghali announced the dispatch of 50 UN observers to South Africa, the first 13 of whom arrived at the weekend. The others are due to arrive within the next three weeks and will establish a headquarters in Johannesburg and regional offices in all major centres of the country.
Peace march runs into exam trouble

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Marchers following a bakkie through the city yesterday with the strains of John Lennon's "Give Peace a Chance" blasting from it were surprised to find they were not alone.

The 300-odd DP marchers seeking peace and talks were confronted by about 40 rowdy ANC members protesting the increase of exam fees from R10 to R30.

The march was led by, among others, DP leader Dr. Zach de Beer at its start, but the marchers split soon after.

However it was not for ideological reasons. There was a misunderstanding about the route.
We need leaders — Boraine

Political Staff
THE carnage taking place in South Africa cried out for political and community leaders who were prepared to condemn violence unambiguously in word and deed, Idasa's executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday.

It was well known that the causes of violence were legion and that the socio-economic situation of the majority of South Africans was a major cause, he wrote in the Idasa journal, Democracy in Action.

"Nevertheless, it is clear that more and more lives are being lost in the ideological battle being fought between the ANC and Inkatha."

Dr Boraine said mindless violence was "destroying the fabric of our society".

"The economy limps on with no hope of recovery against the background of instability."

Women should seize the moment of transition to a rights-based order in SA to establish women's rights, DP MP Ms Dene Smuts said in Durban.

Addressing a forum hosted by Idasa, she said women should be actively involved in the peace process. — Sapa
IFP demands MK probe

DURBAN. — The IFP has demanded that a special unit be established to investigate the role of the ANC's military wing following the killing of 32 IFP supporters in four recent attacks in KwaZulu.

IFP spokesman Mr Kim Hodgson said an investigation into the alleged training of umkhonto we-Sizwe cadres in Transkei was also being sought.

Meanwhile, peace talks between the IFP and the ANC at Richmond have been suspended, and police have offered a R20 000 reward for information about those responsible for the massacre of eight people at Umgababa on Monday. — Sapa
Peaceful end to ANC march

SCHWEIZER-RENEKE. — A memorandum of demands was handed over by a group of ANC-led protesters to police here yesterday, calling for the phasing out of hostels and for an end to alleged bias by the local magistrates' court.

It was a peaceful end to several clashes in the Western Transvaal town earlier in the day as protesters reportedly hurled stones at police and were dispersed with teargas and birdshot.

Twenty-eight people were allegedly injured in one incident and 17 people were arrested.

SAP spokesman Lieutenant Koos Nortje confirmed that, with permission granted by the Conservative Party town council, a delegation of protesters handed over a memorandum to the Schweizer-Reneke station commander.

Ulundi march on — ANC

DURBAN. — The ANC is pressing ahead with its plans for a march on Ulundi.

In spite of mounting pressure to call off the march for fears of massive bloodshed, Natal ANC leaders were adamant that it was still planning the controversial mass action.

ANC southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe said: “We are going ahead with our plan to march on Ulundi. We haven’t called it off.”

However, southern Natal ANC regional secretary Mr Sbu Ndebele said the final decision would be taken at a “higher level”.

The organisation yesterday called off its march on Bophuthatswana, scheduled for this weekend.

Yesterday, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone responded with surprise to claims that the plans had been put on hold following his intervention, saying he had not yet even discussed the Ulundi march with the ANC.

Mr Goldstone did confirm that he had discussed the ANC’s proposed march on Bophuthatswana this weekend with ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Recounting earlier incidents in the town yesterday, Lieutenant Nortje said ANC and SA Communist Party protesters had thrown stones at policemen during an illegal march which began at 10.30am. One policeman was hit.

After the marchers refused orders to disperse, he said, teargas and birdshot were fired. — Sapa
March called off

THE proposed march on Saturday by ANC/Cosatu/SACP supporters into Bophuthatswana has been called off, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone confirmed yesterday. "I have been in contact with the national leadership of the ANC for the past 48 hours."

"In the light of the urgent inquiry by the (Goldstone) commission into the tragic events which occurred at Bisho on September 7 and recommendations which would follow with regard to averting a repetition thereof, I earnestly appealed to the ANC and its alliance partners not to proceed with the march to Bophuthatswana on Saturday. I have now been informed by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa that the appeal has been acceded to and that the proposed march will not take place."
Violence must ‘be stopped’

Critical Period: Premier boss warns of effects of political instability.

By Joshua Raboroko

Certain actions by political parties damaged the economy and would weaken the ability of the corporate world to help small business develop and create jobs for the disadvantaged.

Speaking at the Business and Entrepreneurial Development Conference in Midrand yesterday, the chief executive of the Premier Group, Mr Peter Wrighton, said black economic empowerment could not take place in an atmosphere of violence and political instability.

“We all know that the regeneration of business cannot take place without peace and political stability. We plead with our leaders to act more like statesmen in this critical period of our history,” Wrighton said.

He appealed to the corporate world to help township entrepreneurs.

“Big brother must help small brother grow,” he said.

National Sorghum Breweries’ Professor Mohale Mahanyele said one of the stumbling blocks to black advancement was lack of finance.

He said big business and the Government should pump money towards black economic empowerment.

Cosatu’s appeal to employers

Deadline to taxes nears as protests increase.

By Ike Motsapi

The Congress of South African Trade Unions has set December 1 as a target date for employers to stop deducting the Pay As You Earn tax from workers’ salaries.

Cosatu media officer Mr Neil Coleman yesterday said they expected companies to support the call as part of the ANC-led mass action.

Instead, employers would be asked to pay the tax into a fund for “peace and democracy” to be established soon.

The federation also agreed to step up the mass action campaign.

It would also call for the occupation of government buildings.
Mass action more harmful than sanctions,
CID chief to join G'stone

JOHANNESBURG. The head of the SAP detective branch at Woodstock, Major A G Camphor, is the fourth Cape Town man to be appointed to the Goldstone Commission.

He joins three lawyers from well-known city firms, Mr John van Niekerk, Mr Noel Tunbridge and Mr Max Hales.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone will head five countrywide units to investigate and monitor violence.

Major Camphor was a member of the Peninsula Murder and Robbery Squad before his transfer to Woodstock.

The five units comprise 26 members — nine attorneys, two advocates, 12 policemen, and three SADF members.

Sapa
SOWETAN, in conjunction with BP, will publish a colour chart depicting the National Peace Accord to promote peace in the workplace, home and country.

The chart provides an easily digestible version of the accord in language that can be understood by everyone. It explains in detail which actions violate or abide with the accord, the role the peace-makers should take and how acts of violence or complaints against the police can be lodged.

Sowetan believes that in the face of increasing violence, peace can be achieved by applying the principles and guidelines laid by the Peace Accord.

Employers are advised to order bulk copies of the chart, put it in the workplace or hand out copies to their employees with pay packets. Without peace, companies will be facing a bleak prospect. People are advised to order copies of the peace chart and encourage as many people as possible to read it. Bulk copies are available at Sowetan, 61 Commando Road, Industria.
Doubts about Ulundi march

**PRECEDENT SET** Reasons for discouraging march on Bophutatswana expected to be forwarded following Bisho massacre:

Local leaders of the African National Congress expect Mr Justice Goldstone to ask them to drop plans for their march on Ulundi in KwaZulu.

But plans by the ANC and South African Communist Party to march on Bophutatswana have been put on hold following the intervention of Mr Justice Goldstone.

Mr Justice Goldstone had appealed to the ANC not to go ahead with their march to Bophutatswana on Saturday, pending the urgent inquiry by his commission into the Bisho shootings.

Government sources said the proposed Ulundi march would also be stayed for the same reason.

However, a Press report yesterday said that the ANC march to Ulundi was “still on”.

Local ANC leaders said the Government had asked the ANC to avoid another major national crisis, as had occurred at the Bisho march.

Planning and preparation for such a march was done at local level, but the ultimate decision whether to stage it was taken by the ANC’s national working committee.

Preparation to mobilise ANC supporters to march on Ulundi had begun, local leaders said, but no date had been set.

They expected Mr Justice Goldstone to intervene at a later stage, as he had done in the Bophutatswana march.

Local ANC leaders are mindful that to reach Ulundi they will have to bus people 100 kilometres into a territory controlled by the KwaZulu Police.

The ANC believes that IFP leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi is on the defensive and would pack the Ulundi area with supporters ahead of the march. ANC leaders are mindful that a massive bloodbath could take place.

However, there is a sentiment in local ANC ranks that a march on Ulundi would have symbolic value. There is, however, a feeling in local ANC circles that a joint ANC-IFP pro-democracy march should be held in Ulundi.
Mass action hurts economy more.
5 for peace awards

One of the largest ministries in the country — the International Pentecostal Church (IPC) led by Reverend Samuel Modise — has introduced awards to honour South Africans who contribute most towards peace in the country.

The Love and Peace Award of the Order of The Star of Silo will be presented to five South Africans including ANC president Nelson Mandela on October 5 on an occasion to mark the IPC's 30th anniversary.

IPC media co-ordinator Peter Matshivha stressed the church had no political affiliations. He said the ANC president was selected for his initiation of the negotiation process and for advocating the spirit of forgiveness among all South Africans.
SA anti-tank missiles(2nd)
found in drain

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Four South Afri
can-made anti-tank missiles
have been found abandoned in
a stormwater drain near Garso
fontein by a Transvaal Provin
cial Administration (TPA) road
worker.

And in two other incidents
around the country, police have
found a mortar bomb and a
 cache of magazines and ammu
 nition.

Mr Louis van Heerden from
the TPA roads department
made his discovery while doing
routine repairs to the Welbe
tend road near Garasfontein.

Bomb squads disarmed the de
vices.

On the East Rand two boys:
searching for earthworms at
the Brakpan sportsgrounds
found a cache of ammunition
— two R1 magazines, two R3
magazines, one AK-47 maga
azine and one 20mm shotgun
cartridge.

Police in La Lucia, Natal,
confiscated an old 16mm mor
tar bomb used as an ornament
in a man’s house; after it was
found the mortar was still live.
KZP: No cards for non-members

PRETORIA. — The commissioner of the KwaZulu Police, General Jack Buchner, agreed before a Goldstone Commission committee yesterday that it would be "highly irregular" for people who were not KZP members to be issued with police appointment cards.

Gen Buchner was giving evidence before a Goldstone committee inquiry into a shooting incident involving IFP and ANC supporters during a funeral procession in Wesselton, near Ermelo, on August 11, 1990.

Asked by counsel for the ANC, Mr David Soggott, SC, if he was aware that about 300 KwaZulu citizens, who had been trained at Caprivi by the SADF, had been issued with police appointment cards even though they were not members of the KZP, Gen Buchner said the documents would be false if holders were not KZP members.

He said SAP members had suggested two KwaZulu policemen were suspects in the shooting because shells found at the scene allegedly matched their KZP-issue firearms.

Gen Buchner said he later heard of firearms confiscated by the SAP belonging to two of his men, the firearms were handed over to a Capt Langeni, in the security section of the KZP.

Asked what action he took about a firearm of Constable Zwele Dlamini (one of the men allegedly involved in the shootings) being found in Wesselton, Gen Buchner said Brigadier Matha had not been able to trace Const Dlamini for four months.

He said after four months Const Dlamini was asked to explain and he (Gen Buchner) believed there was an acceptable explanation.

He denied that a former ANC guerrilla, presently an IFP organiser, Daluxolo Lathuli, was a member of the KZP.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who chaired the hearing, adjourned the sitting until October 16 for argument.

— Sapa
ANC gets blame for violence

PIETERSBURG. — A main reason for violence in South Africa was the ANC's strategy to make the country ungovernable, South African Institute of Race Relations executive director Mr John Kane-Berman said yesterday.

Speaking to the Pietersburg Chamber of Business, he said the ANC's strategy of a people's war, formulated in the 1980s, focused on the government, but it was also aimed at parts of the black community.

Mr Kane-Berman said the ANC's shift in 1985 from an armed struggle to a people's war unleashed forces which had no command structures to control them. — Sapa 27/8/92
ANC strategy blamed for violence

PIETERSBURG — A main reason for violence in South Africa was the ANC's strategy to make the country ungovernable, S. A. Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kani said yesterday. But it was also a declaration of war against sections of the black community. — Sapa
The arrival this week of United Nations observers may help to avert a catastrophe. Six are scheduled to be stationed in Natal, but the co-chairman of the Natal/KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, M C Pretorius, believes it might be advisable for all 16 observers to come to Natal when the ANC march takes place (by Monday no date had been set).

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi fears the march will have grave consequences. He says that "the ANC/SACP/Coasa alliance have said they want to march on Ulundi to carry out the plans they started in July 1990, when they called for stayaways and strikes to put pressure on President F W de Klerk to dismantle KwaZulu and to disband the KwaZulu Police."

But Buthelezi stresses that KwaZulu cannot be compared to any of the areas where marches have been staged. "There is already a low-intensity civil war between members of the ANC alliance and members of the IFP. So tensions here are higher than anywhere. The language used in Bisso by some of the leading members of the national executive committee of the ANC, such as Chris Hani, who called me a madman and other names, sets the tone of the spirit in which they will be coming here. The consequences of these provocative actions are too ghastly to imagine."

Buthelezi makes it clear that such a demonstration would be resisted, though he declines to comment on exactly how this will be done. "The KwaZulu administration was set up by law and if it is to be dismantled at all, this should be done legally. Marching in order to topple me is not a peaceful demonstration. It is up to the Zulu nation, which is being challenged, to decide how to react to this."

KwaZulu is indeed different from Bophuthatswana or Ciskei because it is officially part of SA, whereas they are recognised by Pretoria as independent, sovereign states. Buthelezi was an enduringly sharp thorn in the side of the previous National Party administration because he refused to accept independence. And, Buthelezi argues, "we were a sovereign kingdom before we were conquered as a nation. This cannot be said of any of the other self-governing territories. We are not independent — and we are, therefore, not what they call a bantustan in any sense."

Buthelezi's arguments have considerable force of logic. They are another illustration that this latest phase of ANC mass action is not aimed at homeland leaders but at those hostile to the ANC. Thus there is no talk of marching against Major General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei, which is just as much a bantustan as Ciskei, while Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope has been singled out for "toppling."

The fact that KwaZulu is not independent may be helpful. It means that the SA Police can be deployed, after the necessary consultations between Pretoria and Ulundi. And it seems fair to hope that the SAP would be rather less quick on the trigger than the Ciskei soldiers were at Bisso.

What is clear is that De Klerk must grasp the homeland bottle and accept what the rest of the world and most South Africans have known for years — that sovereign independence for the "national states" has always been a dangerous absurdity.
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FW raises hopes for peace summit

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk today raised fresh hopes of an early meeting between him and Nelson Mandela.

He also launched a scathing attack on political leaders and groupings — including the ANC, the far right, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Democratic Party — for "condoning or encouraging political violence".

Addressing the National party's Transvaal Congress at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg, Mr De Klerk said he had had "a penetrating discussion" with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday.

In spite of the Codesa deadlock, negotiations were continuing with friendly parties, he said.

The State President said there were "signs of a turnabout" in negotiations with the ANC about a summit on violence, the key to a return to formal constitutional talks.

The government and the ANC are very close to agreement on the three ANC conditions for the summit — the release of political prisoners, a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and greater security at hostels — according to sources close to the negotiations.

High-level delegations of the ANC and government met yesterday and another meeting is expected today, at which a date could be set for the summit. It could be as early as next week.

Mr De Klerk told the National Party congress today that the party and the government could not be blamed for the political violence raking the country and had "done what was needed" to end it.

He said the blame for the violence should be placed on "important political leaders who condone it or encourage it — either directly or indirectly".

These included the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, the PAC, the extreme rightwing "and even Inkatha", who assaulted, intimidated and murdered political opponents.

Violence was also invited through demonstrations and mass action as well as inflammatory rhetoric.

Reproaches directed at the NP by Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer were pompous and unjustified.

By blaming the government and the ANC for the violence, Dr de Beer was whitewashing the ANC's disruptive behaviour. Violence would come to an end only when all the leaders of all important political groupings rejected it "with conviction, also within their own ranks".

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday that legislation was being drawn up to clip the wings of the homelands, including the possible absorption of their defence forces.

The four "independent" TBVC homelands could become merely non-independent self-governing territories, he said, or certain of their powers — such as defence — could be surrendered to South Africa.

He denied reports that the government intended to appoint black ministers in the cabinet under the present dispensation.

This was not the intention of proposed legislation allowing non-MPs to serve on the cabinet, Mr Meyer said.

The purpose was to legalise the position of Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys — who is not an MP — without holding a by-election.
Some consider new UN envoy Virendra Dayal more a bureaucrat than a diplomat, reports MIKE LITTLE JOHN from New York.

VIREN德拉 Dayal, the special envoy of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali now on a mission to South Africa, made his name as the consummate "bureaucrat's bureaucrat".

With 17 years' experience in the Indian Administrative Service, known for its punctiliousness, he was ideally equipped for eventual high office in the UN secretariat and ascended to the rank of undersecretary-general.

But recently, he has not been among his more conspicuous skills — in part, perhaps, because he has worked mainly as an oiler of the wheels in New York rather than as a field operator.

His discussions in coming days with senior South African officials and others involved in the National Peace Accord will test his mettle.

Those who know him well are confident that he will rise to the occasion. Still, he has big shoes to fill in succeeding former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in the South Africa assignment.

Mr Dayal served for more than nine years as Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar's chief-of-staff, the pinnacle of a UN career stretching back to 1965. Replaced after Mr Boutros-Ghali's accession, he accepted a handsome tax-free lump sum and a generous pension and was expected to retire to New Delhi, where the Indian government had bestowed its highest civilian honour and awarded him a sizeable cash prize.

However, the new secretary-general evidently thinks so well of him that Mr Dayal has remained in New York ready to respond to his bidding — as he did in helping to draft "An Agenda for Peace".

This is an important series of recommendations to the membership mandated by the first-ever summit meeting of the Security Council, held in January.

Still, the South Africa mission breaks new ground for an official generally known for his extreme caution.

He has not always been so discreet. When the important post of UN High Commissioner for Refugees fell vacant, Mr Perez de Cuellar nominated his chief-of-staff to fill it — in part, apparently, to retain the relatively young Mr Dayal in UN service after a new leader came in.

Mr Dayal is only 57 and the normal pensionable age is 60, although staff may retire at 55.

Incidentally, Mr Dayal had seen previous service with the refugee agency as head of its New York office before joining the UN special political affairs department.

But the US and Britain, among others, questioned whether he had the clout to raise the large sums needed by the agency or the expertise to supervise its worldwide operations, and Mr Perez de Cuellar somewhat testily withdrew the nomination.

Uncharacteristically, Mr Dayal called a group of reporters to complain angrily that his rejection was racially motivated and that if he were a western European, there would have been no problem.

In fact, the job went eventually to a Japanese woman, Sadako Ogata who has handled the difficult post with extraordinary skill.

Educated in Delhi and at Oxford, Mr Dayal has the accent and manners of the Indian upper class. A workaholic by nature — one who maintains a grueling schedule as chief-of-staff — he suffered a mild heart attack some years ago, but appears to have fully recovered his stamina.
after-mass-action satisfaction?

Can SA look forward to some
City lawyers on task force

Staff Reporter

THREE senior attorneys from well-known Cape Town legal firms have been appointed to serve on a local task force to monitor and investigate violence under the Goldstone Commission. (74) (4) (4) (4)

They are Mr John van Niekerk of Silberbauer, Mr Noel Tunbridge of Findlay and Tait, and Mr Max Hales of Sydret Godlonton-Fuller Moore.

A local policeman is also expected to be appointed to Cape Town's task force on Wednesday.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone on Saturday announced the establishment of a high-powered team of 25 advocates, attorneys, policemen and SADF members to head five special investigation units answerable to his commission, reports Sapa from Johannesburg.

If the ANC and its allies went ahead with plans to march on Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu in the coming weeks, the teams would "obviously" be available, Judge Goldstone said. But he hoped the mere existence of the teams would "assist in changing the conduct of people".
Peace Rap for ANC

In his first finding account on political roles and functions of the ANC, the stick is drawn on the professor who delves into the critical viewpoints regarding the ANC's role in the context of South African society. The professor argues that the ANC must take on a more proactive role in addressing the challenges faced by the community. He emphasizes the importance of the ANC's role in promoting democratic principles and ensuring equal rights for all citizens.

The professor further highlights the need for the ANC to engage with the community and involve them in the decision-making process. He suggests that this approach will not only strengthen the ANC's relationship with the people but also enhance its legitimacy and credibility. The professor concludes by urging the ANC to embrace a more inclusive and participatory approach to governance.
World intervention welcomed

By MOSES MAMAILA

INTERNATIONAL bodies which spearheaded the campaign to isolate SA are now flocking to the country at the request of the government and opposition groups.

The United Nations has sent a high-powered delegation to SA to monitor the political situation and ongoing violence.

UN special envoy to the country, Virendra Dayal, arrived at Jan Smuts airport on Wednesday to promote resolution 772 which contains Cyrus Vance’s recommendations on SA.

Dayal would liaise with the 18 UN observers currently in the country. The observers, who jetted in at the weekend, have been allocated to the country’s 11 regions, according to National Peace Secretariat official Anton Venter.

Venter said more UN representatives were expected soon but he could not give a date.

He said there were also representatives from the Organisation of African Unity currently in the country.

The Commonwealth has also sent a delegation of three to observe the situation.

On Thursday, World Council of Churches president Emilio Castro also arrived and is expected to pay homage to the victims of the Bisho massacre.

Mediate

The apparent intervention of international bodies follows repeated calls by various political organisations that they should mediate between the contesting forces.

While most of these organisations appear to be observing, they’re being prompted to actively participate in the resolution of the country’s political problems.

Reacting to the presence of the international bodies, AZAPO secretary general Don Nkadimeng said his organisation regarded this as the first step towards full international involvement in the resolution of the conflict, of which violence was only a part.

“The sooner political organisations realise that they cannot be mediators in their own dispute, the better for the country,” said Nkadimeng.

The PAC and ANC have also gone on record calling for international participation in the transformation period to democracy.

Although initially the government was opposed to international participation, saying it was not necessary, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha has requested the UN to help get the peace and negotiations process back on track.
ANC probes claims of breach of Accord

Government, IFP file complaints

THE ANC will today study the conclusions of the National Peace Committee which say it has allegedly breached five sections of the Peace Accord.

The findings were the result of two complaints made by the Government and Inkatha Freedom Party.

"There is no immediate response, as the findings, which were made available to us only on Saturday, need to be investigated first," ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said.
Choice between negotiations and turmoil, UK warns

Chaos was the alternative to negotiations on nondemocracy, and the Boipatong and Ciskei massacres were a taste of what awaited the country unless talks resumed, Britain told South Africa on Friday.

"Time is running out," Britain's Minister for Overseas Development Lynda Chalker said in a speech prepared for delivery in Durban to the British-South Africa Conference, a forum designed to encourage bilateral ties.

She said she was encouraged by some signs that leading political players were turning back to negotiations, and urged all parties to show the flexibility needed to resume talks before it was too late.

The killings at Boipatong, Ciskei and elsewhere had persuaded some that there was an alternative to talks, she said.

If the talks are not resumed, we will have seen in Boipatong and Ciskei a foretaste of the fate that awaits the whole of South Africa.

Mrs Chalker said bitterness over apartheid had undoubtedly played a part, but it was irresponsible to blame the violence simply on legacies of the past.

The Government had to maintain law and order impartially, and be seen to do so, she said.

She added that police units throughout the country, including the homelands, must be properly controlled.

Commenting on the Ciskei massacre, Mrs Chalker said:
"Whatever the provocation, the response at Bishop was out of all proportion to the threat posed by the demonstrators."

South Africans, Mrs Chalker said, had to tackle the issues of carrying dangerous weapons and the security of migrant-worker hosts, said by the ANC to be launching pads for violence.

These issues, and the release of political prisoners, are ANC conditions for the proposed summit on violence.

Mrs Chalker's party made her speech available to reporters in Durban in advance of her speaking on Saturday.

Hours before she spoke, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Commonwealth peace monitors visiting KwaZulu: "There are no prospects of establishing a sound transitional government in the climate created by the upward spiral of violence we see around us."

He said the ANC, by retaining its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, made political violence seem respectable to black people. — Sapa-Reuters.
While leaders talk, people die.
ANC considers
NPC findings
Political Reporter 274

The ANC will today be studying findings by the National Peace Committee (NPC) that it breached the Peace Accord.

The Government complained about the ANC’s mock trials in Maritzburg on June 26 and Inkatha objected to comments on the trial by ANC regional chairman Harry Gwala.

The NPC ordered the ANC and SACP to distance themselves from the actions in Maritzburg by September 30.

The mock trial sentenced 11 Inkatha leaders to death.
ANC ‘to study’ rulings on peace accord breaches

THE findings by a national peace accord committee that ANC mock trials in Maritzburg and statements by Natal leader Harry Gwala breached the accord, would be studied. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

The findings, issued on Friday, said the ANC had breached five sections of the accord. The findings were the result of two complaints, made by the IFP and government.

Niehaus said there was no immediate response to the findings, made available to us only on Saturday, need to be investigated first. The ANC would react this week.

An accord adjudication panel has ordered the ANC and SACP to remedy the situation or distance themselves from the actions of their members. During the Maritzburg mock trials, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and 10 other Inkatha leaders were sentenced to death and a coffin was burned.

The committee found that these actions, and posters displayed by the SACP, contained “language calculatated or likely to incite violence or hatred”. Statements made by Gwala in a newspaper interview, and the letter he sent to the committee to explain these statements, violated the spirit of the accord, the committee found.

In his letter, it is believed Gwala said the ANC would not hesitate to kill those who attacked them.

The ANC had contravened the preamble of the accord, failed to encourage compliance by its followers to the principles of democracy and political tolerance, and contravened a section dealing with intimidation.

The ANC had also contravened another section about failing to notify public authorities of its decision.

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CITY LODGE TOWN LODGE

City Lodge Hotels Limited

(Registration number 80/02984/06)
(Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)
("City Lodge" or "the Company")

Proposed listing on The Johannesburg Stock Exchange

Introduction
Finansbank Limited is authorised to announce that the directors of City Lodge have resolved formally to apply for the listing of City Lodge on The Johannesburg Stock Exchange ("the JSE"). Since City Lodge is not in need of additional equity capital, the listing will be implemented by way of offers for sale of ordinary shares and unsecured compulsorily convertible subordinated debentures ("debentures") to selected institutions, employees and business associates.

Information on City Lodge
The City Lodge group operates high quality economy hotels targeted mainly at the business community at room tariffs below those of full service hotels. The group was founded in 1985 by Mr Hans Enderle ("Enderle") in partnership with Mine Officials Pension Fund and Mine Employees Pension Fund (jointly "MPF"). The group today owns and operates seven City Lodges and one Town Lodge strategically located in all the major South African urban areas. A further three hotels, City Lodge, Morningside (Sandton), City Lodge, Nyanga and Afrika Motel, are located in areas of Johannesburg, Capetown and Pretoria respectively.
MK attackers 'target Inkatha people'

JOHANNESBURG — Inkatha members and supporters were the targets of attacks by the ANC military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), an IFP statement said yesterday.

The MK issue was being discussed by the ANC and the government but the government was not the focus of MK attacks.

Issued here by IFP youth leader and Transvaal organiser Mr Themba Khoza, the statement said the MK issue was just one matter Inkatha believed had to be resolved.

Regarding weapons, it said traditional weapons, "not pangas, knives and domestic axes", accounted for less than two percent of killings, "whereas the ANC's AK-47s were responsible for about 60%". — Sapa
35 killed in latest unrest

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Reporter

At least 35 people have been killed in violence which has continued to rack South Africa and Ciskei since Friday, police have confirmed.

An 18-year-old youth was killed in Ciskei on Sunday. Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) chief Brigadier Marius Oelshig said yesterday.

The youth died of his injuries after being assaulted by a mob in Mdantsane.

He was the seventh person to be killed in the homeland since Friday's funeral for marchers killed by CDF troops in Bisho on September 7.

At Dimbaza, Ciskei police fired at suspects tampering with an electrical distribution box, Brigadier Oelshig said.

One suspect was wounded and two others were detained.

Brigadier Oelshig said seven arson attacks had been directed at CDF or Ciskei police members.

Damage estimated at well over R2-million has been caused in Ciskei since Friday in arson attacks targeting homeland government property.

Two attacks on the homes of ANC members in Dimbaza were also reported on Monday, with no easing of tensions in the area within sight.

Police reported 19 people killed in separate attacks in Natal at the weekend and yesterday.

In the latest attack, a man and two women were shot dead by gunmen posing as policemen near Inanda, north of Durban, yesterday morning.

KwaZulu police told Sapa that 14 people, including a policeman, had been killed since Saturday.

In separate attacks yesterday, two Golden Arrow bus drivers were shot dead and a third driver and four passengers injured in Khayelitsha and Nyanga near Cape Town.

Another man was burnt to death when his shack in the White City, Soweto, squatter camp was set alight on Saturday.

Six people, including a baby, were killed in separate attacks across the Reef at the weekend.
Speculative quotations depict [Jeffrey's credibility]

Dennis Davis and Glibert Marus continue the debate on the motives of violence-motors.
SA urged to hold election

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — It was imperative to hold elections in South Africa as soon as possible to gauge the support of various political parties.

Speaking at an ecumenical breakfast here yesterday, visiting British human rights lawyer and violence monitor for the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) Mr John Macdonald, QC, said he accepted that President F W de Klerk's government is concerned about ending violence in South Africa.

Mr Macdonald, who headed an ICJ delegation to South Africa last year and earlier this year, said he accepted there may be a third force operating in the country. But he doubted whether it was "an organised body taking directives from the top".

‘Change-around’

Previously, said Mr Macdonald, members of the ICJ group were uncertain whether the government was really concerned about ending violence.

Apart from the Boipatong and Bisho massacres, he was encouraged by the appointment of the Goldstone investigation unit and the acceptance of outside observers to monitor violence.

He described the presence of outside observers, especially those from the UN, as a "very, very significant change-around" of previous government thinking.
Kriel rejects ANC criticism of probe

PRETORIA - Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday accused the ANC of "selective morality" for insisting that SAP members who had committed crimes should be brought to trial but not ANC members.

In a hard-hitting speech to the Johannesburg Press Club, Kriel set out to justify the SAP's focus on crimes allegedly committed by senior ANC and SAP members.

Kriel said he agreed that SAP members who allegedly committed crimes should be investigated thoroughly. "But when ANC members are investigated to determine their involvement in the murder of women and children, then this is perceived as standing in the way of negotiations."

"In other words, prosecute policemen for murder, but don't touch ANC members - especially not national executive committee members."

The crimes were committed during the same war, so why the distinction, he asked. Why were some people regarded as untouchable and others as prosecutable?

The SAP was accused of not being impartial, but when it investigated political crimes across the political spectrum, something other than impartiality was expected of it.

Police could not grant immunity to any member but were expected to grant unofficial amnesty to members of certain political organisations.

He denied ANC charges that the SAP was involved in a strategy to obtain amnesty for members of the security forces by investigating crimes allegedly committed by senior ANC members to force a trade-off.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the investigation of senior ANC members appeared to have gained new momentum only because people who had information about crimes committed some time ago were back in the country.

Comment: Page 14

Court to rule on conscription

STEPHANE BOTTIMA

A FULL bench of the Pretoria Supreme Court will be asked tomorrow to decide on the validity of conscription of national servicemen in terms of the Defence Act.

The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) has filed a legal action against the Defence Minister and the chief of SADF, attacking the legality of the Act.

Counsel for the ECC will argue that the repeal of the Population Registration Act - to which the Defence Act refers for its definition of "whites" - has rendered the whites-only call-up legally invalid. Δ [1899] 262 A

If the ECC application is successful, all call-ups issued since the repeal of the Population Registration Act will be invalid, and there will be no legal basis for conscripts to continue military service. 22/9/92

"Even if the application is unsuccessful, it will focus attention once again on the anomaly of a racially selective military call-up, at a time when racist legislation has largely been phased out," ECC Johannesburg chairman Chris de Villiers said yesterday.

Government wanted a citizen force mass mobilisation option, he said.
THE ANC's proposed march on Ulundi was not a declaration of war but rather an act of protest against the lack of political freedom in KwaZulu, ANC Southern Natal chairman Mr. Jeff Radebe said yesterday.

He was responding to statements made by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the TV programme Agenda on Sunday night.

"This march is to highlight the point that political tolerance is unavailable in KwaZulu. It's not a declaration of war," Radebe said.

Ulundi was not "sacrosanct", he said, adding that people had the right to protest against the denial of civil rights.
Violence claims
19 lives since Monday

JOHANNESBURG. — Nineteen people were killed in unrest-related violence countrywide since Monday, bringing to 44 the number killed in political or other turmoil since Friday.

The worst-hit province was the Transvaal, with 10 deaths.

In the most recent attack, a passenger was reported killed and 15 others injured after a hand grenade was thrown into a bus near Heidelberg.

Six people, including a six-month-old baby, were killed and five were wounded when gunmen armed with AK-47 rifles opened fire on a minibus travelling on the Eastern Transvaal Springs/Secunda road on Monday, a Witwatersrand police spokesman said.

Police suspected the attack was part of the continuing Springs taxi war and was not politically motivated.

In a second attack on a taxi on Monday, a woman was killed and four men were wounded when a gunman armed with an AK-47 rifle shot at a minibus in Orlando, Soweto.

Also in the Transvaal police found the burnt body of a man in Alexandra and the body of a man who had been stabbed in Sebokeng.

In Natal six people were killed in two separate shooting incidents, one near Umlazi and the other near Inanda.

Meanwhile fears of violence on Sunday's Shaka Day in KwaMashu township, north of Durban, are mounting. — Sapa
It was the start of a new era in Massachusetts politics.

Bishop Johnson tells of a lesson that must be learned, and quickly, by all our politicians.

Walter Spiker is away next Wednesday.
Violence must be key issue

Jackie Cullis discusses how the world can help SA solve its security problems
They said agreement could either be reached late last night or could be held over until today to be finalised by the Cabinet and the ANC’s national working committee.

But they said it was also possible that the talks could be suspended for a while and that the summit could then take place after Mr Mandela’s return from Pakistan and China.

ANC sources said this would not be a problem to them.

In meetings with diplomats yesterday, Mr Mandela was reported to have expressed pessimism about the likelihood of an agreement being reached in time for the meeting on violence to take place before he left.

And he told journalists after meeting foreign ambassadors that if no agreement was reached on the three outstanding issues yesterday, the violence summit would not take place.

Mr Mandela said he was “sorry the Government is dragging its feet” in this week’s negotiations.

But sources close to the talks said they believed progress had been made since Mr Mandela’s pessimistic remarks and that the summit could still take place this week.

Mr Mandela said earlier yesterday that the summit had to take place soon because the country could not afford further delay.

Every day the deadlock continued meant more deaths and greater destruction of the economy, he said.

The release of Magoo’s bomber Robert McBride and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres has emerged as the key to the calling of the all-important meeting on violence between President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

It is understood that the Government is ready to release about 80 ANC political prisoners and has dropped its previous insistence on linking this to a general amnesty — which would include security force offenders.

But at talks with the ANC this week, it dug in its heels about releasing McBride and two other ANC cadres — Mzwandile Nondula and Mthethameli Macubi — convicted of several counts of murder in connection with a Messiing landmine explosion and the subsequent shooting of policemen.

ANC sources said they were insisting that the three should also be freed and believed that they had been excluded because their victims were white. Others convicted of similar offences involving black victims had already been freed.

The violence summit is most likely to take place on Saturday if this last remaining obstacle can be removed.

It is understood that agreement in principle has been reached on the two other obstacles — hostel security and dangerous weapons.

Sources close to Government-ANC talks to set up the violence summit said Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were meeting late into last night to try to secure agreement by today — effectively the deadline if the violence summit is to take place before Mr Mandela goes abroad on Tuesday for two weeks.
Tariff hikes

THE Atteridgeville Council is facing a deficit of more than R33.3 million for this financial year and the Pretoria City Council, which administers the township, is set to approve tariff increases.

The Pretoria City Council was due to meet last night to debate the proposed increases.

Last week it announced it would increase rates in Atteridgeville to reduce the shortfall and prevent the total collapse of services in the township.

"It is proposed that tariffs be increased from the R103.30 flat rate to R220 a household a month," the deputy chairman of the management committee of the Pretoria Council said. He said the R33.3 million accumulated deficit did not even give the full picture of arrears.

Summit is on

THE much talked about summit on peace between Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk will be held this weekend.

This became clear yesterday, but both Government and ANC officials refused to confirm this before top level meetings today to ratify the decision.

The ANC's National Working Committee (NWC) and the Cabinet assembled early today for their respective Wednesday meetings where agreements reached between their top negotiators are expected to be ratified.

The meeting would have to take place before next Wednesday when Mandela is scheduled to leave on a two-week visit to Asia.

No motive murders

A Mamelodi, Pretoria, businessman was gunned down at his home this week while relaxing in his lounge.

Mr Peter Mopeola of Mamelodi Gardens, owner of a hair salon in Mamelodi West, died instantly after being hit by five bullets from a 9mm pistol.

Police said the motive for the attack was unknown and nothing was taken from the house. No arrests have been made.

In Soshangue the body of a 25-year-old woman was found at Walmasthal Secondary School by a pupil. She had two head wounds but police believe she was throttled.

HIV on the increase

A total of 157 people have died of Aids at Engwelezane Hospital near Empangeni in northern Natal this year.

The hospital's medical superintendent, Dr Peter Haselton, yesterday expressed concern at the number of patients who tested HIV positive and confirmed 425 patients were being treated at the institution.

He said about 60 percent of the women and 40 percent of the men who had visited the hospital this year had been infected with the killer disease.

Foreign observers

A five-person ecumenical eminent persons group arrived in South Africa yesterday to observe the country's difficult transition period to a democracy.

They are the first church-based organisation to visit South Africa in this capacity.

Earlier observers were from international organisations such as the OAU and the UN.

Meanwhile, a group of OAU observers arrives in Cape Town today. The PAC announced yesterday that the group would meet its regional leadership and that of the ANC.
Another 40 die in violence and taxi feuds

PRETORIA—Eighteen people have been killed in politically motivated violence countrywide since Monday, bringing to 40 the number of people killed since Friday.

The most recent attack was in Natal. Early yesterday, when three men were killed and a woman was injured when gunmen opened fire on taxi commuters in Umlazi near Durban.

Earlier, in the Transvaal, a passenger was reported killed and 15 injured when a hand grenade was thrown into a bus near Pretoria.

Theo Rawana reports eight people were killed in the Reef in the past three days in taxi violence.

Gunmen armed with AK-47s killed two people in Springs on Monday in the latest incident in a long-running feud which has claimed 52 Springs Taxi Association members’ lives since July last year. A baby died yesterday from wounds sustained in the attack.

And three men, also armed with AK-47 rifles and travelling in a car with a Durban registration, opened fire on a taxi at Bergwanathi taxi rank on Monday, killing one person and injuring three.

A Soweto Taxi Association source said yesterday the attack at Bergwanathi Taxi Rank could be related to a feud that began at Durban railway station.

Springs Taxi Association secretary... To Page 2

Violence

Simon Mokotong claimed his organisation had lost 52 members at the hands of the Sina Muva, a Piet Retief-based long-distance taxi organisation that sought to crowd them out of the market.

"The men demanded that we should stop ferrying our passengers outside Springs, while they had easy access to both local and long-distance routes. If we wanted to enjoy this privilege, we should join them, they insisted."

The latest flare-up, which began with the killing of Springs Taxi Association treasurer Solomon Mabena last Thursday, came as the two organisations were planning to make peace and form one organisation.

In another attack on a taxi on Monday, a woman was killed and four men were wounded when a gunman with an AK-47 rifle shot at a minibus in Orlando, Soweto, yesterday’s official unrest report said.

In Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, police found the burnt body of a man. In the same area, a man was seriously wounded when gunmen opened fire on him.

The body of a man who had been shot was found by police in the Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng.

Two Golden Arrow bus drivers were killed in separate shooting incidents in Khayelitsha near Cape Town on Monday.

In the same area, a man died when his shack was burnt to the ground.

In Natal on Monday, at Umzimnyathi squatter camp, near Inanda, three people were killed when gunmen fired into a shack. Two men, who reportedly posed as policemen, were arrested. — Sapa.
NEWS Bisho plan hatched in Pretoria, says Hani

Violence part of a political plan

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

The SACP has produced an interesting argument to substantiate the tripartite alliance's allegation that the Government was busy with a low-intensity war against the ANC and its allies.

By way of example, based on American military strategies, the SACP explains that the bloody carnage in the country was a direct result of "a strategic use of violence for political ends" by the Government.

Reflecting on the Bisho massacre, the SACP secretary general Mr Chris Hani says it is becoming increasingly clear the slaughter was not an accident.

"The triggers were pulled in Bisho but the plan was hatched in Pretoria," he says. "Why did the heavy SAP escort that accompanied us from King William's Town suddenly melt away minutes before the massacre, only to return after the firing had stopped?"

He points out that the Government did not once voice critical opposition to the actions of the CDF.

"From about August 1990, until some time this year, De Klerk was successfully projected, at home and abroad, as the man of peace, the negotiator, while the ANC (and Inkatha Freedom Party) were seen by many as culprits in a spiralling and mindless 'inter-ethnic', 'black on black' war."

"If it was 'inter-ethnic' violence, then what were the original killing fields in Natal in which thousands of Zulu-speakers murdered other Zulu speakers?"

"If it was just political rivalry, then who was behind the train massacres? These are random killings in which party affiliation or ethnic background are absolutely irrelevant."

"And who was benefiting from the violence, strategically? Certainly not the ANC-led alliance," the SACP secretary-general says.

Sketching recurring patterns in the violence, Hani explained that the violence ostensively came in two forms - "general mass destabilising violence (such as) train massacres (and) attacks on vigilis (which are) designed to disrupt and terrorise, and the more professional surgical assassinations of key second and third-layer leadership in the township."

"The brand of violence that we have been seeing in our country is known in US military parlance as 'low-intensity war'... it involves the extensive deployment of proxy rather than US (or in our case SADF) forces."

"Its objective is political victory. It aims to destabilise and then impose a political settlement on a war-weary people."

But violence has permeated South African society and is not inherently political. More than 11 000 people died violently in South Africa, he says, and more than 8 000 were not politically related.

"We have the highest known per capita rate in the world for other violent crimes as well, notably rape.

"These are the symptoms of a racially sick society. This is the legacy of apartheid and decades more of segregation," Hani says.
13 die in bus, taxi ambushes

By Tsale Makam

Our women and an infant were among 13 people killed and 30 injured when gunmen attacked buses and taxis in the East Rand, Cape Town and Natal this week.

The latest attack was in Heidelberg early yesterday morning in which one person was killed and about 15 injured after a grenade was lobbed at a bus.

The victims were rushed to the AG Visser Hospital. They all reported seeing two men who hurled "something" at the bus.

Also in the Transvaal, six people, including a six-month-old baby, were killed on the Springs-Secunda highway on Monday night and five seriously injured in an AK-47 attack. It is suspected to be part of the ongoing taxi feud between long and short distance taxi associations in Springs, according to police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman.

Another taxi was ambushed in Natal early yesterday when unidentified men wielding AK-47 rifles opened fire and killed three men and injured one woman.

In another attack on a taxi on Monday, a woman was killed and four men wounded when a gunman, armed with an AK-47 rifle, shot at a minibus in Orlando, Soweto.
Civil war warning

The Inkatha Freedom Party predicted unprecedented levels of violence and possibly a civil war if the ANC's proposed march to Ulundi takes place.

In a press statement issued in Johannesburg on Monday the IFP condemned the ANC's decision to close down hostels and its referring to traditional weapons as a propaganda issue.

The Inkatha Freedom Party called for the disbanding of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, and the Transkei government, claiming that they play a major role in the political violence in the black community. - Sowetan Reporter.
EC calls for peace accord to cover homelands

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd has called for South Africa's National Peace Accord to be extended to cover the homelands after the Bisho massacre. Speaking for the European Community in an address to the UN General Assembly, he also appealed to the South African government to exercise firm control over security forces throughout the nation.

Mr. Hurd reaffirmed the EC's support for South Africa's peaceful transition to a democratic, united society.
More monitors on the way

Political Staff

An advance mission of five eminent people, led by New Zealander Sir Paul Reeves, is due to arrive in Cape Town tomorrow night.

It is part of an international ecumenical monitoring mission and will work with other monitors already in South Africa.

The group, which arrived in the country this week, is due to visit Khayelitsha and to have talks with the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, independent monitors and civic organisations.

Other members include Bishop Malvin Tolbert, Ms Christine Davis and Mr Jorgen Estrup.
More monitors on the way
Last-minute hitch in peace talks remains biggest obstacle

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE National working committee of the ANC will meet again today to temper the agreements reached in almost two weeks of planning for a peace summit between President PW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

After almost two weeks of negotiations behind the scenes crucial meetings of the Cabinet and NWC yesterday, the news from both camps is that nothing concrete has been achieved and talks will continue today.

Great expectations rested on the ANC and Government yesterday as both parties studied details of the deal.

The deal, raised by the ANC as a prerequisite for the summit, could see the release of political prisoners, the securing of hostages and an undertaking by the Government to ban dangerous weapons.

The details of the deal were drawn up by the ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, during two weeks of delicate deliberations, which ended close to midnight on Tuesday.
US ‘Ready to Send Its Own Monitors to SA’

By Hugh Roberton
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States may soon send its own team of observers to South Africa to monitor political violence and the transition to democracy, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, announced today.

He told the Africa sub-committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he favoured the idea, “if the South African Government and the ANC would accept them” but gave no indication of how large the team might be or when it might be dispatched.

US observers would join the 50 observers already committed to South Africa by the United Nations. The European Community has decided to send 15 observers and a further 12 were due to arrive from the Commonwealth. The Organisation of African Unity also intends sending observers.

In testimony to the sub-committee, Mr Cohen criticised the South African Government for “having been lax in reforming the police force”. In the past its primary function had been to protect whites from blacks and it had little ability to deal with the challenge of conflict and violence.

Mr Cohen said the Government and the ANC had a duty to secure peace.

“As leader of the Government, President de Klerk bears special responsibility to take effective steps to address the continuing violence. We hold the South African Government ultimately responsible for the actions of the defence forces of the so-called ‘independent homelands’.”

He said: “Mass action aimed at confrontations that add to the already unacceptable level of violence are clearly ill-advised. This is particularly the case when mass action proceeds from the false premise that easy victories can be gained on issues already the subject of serious negotiations. The ANC must contribute to creating a constructive atmosphere for resumption of the talks.”

The US welcomed the ANC’s decision to postpone marches into Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, “demonstrations that would have led to further bloodshed”.

King-sized job for UN team leader

Angela King, head of the United Nations observer group in South Africa, touched down at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday morning, ready to get down to the daunting task of helping check political violence.

No, she had not for an instant considered refusing the South African assignment, said Mrs King. "I was asked — and I'm an international civil servant."

Besides, as a seasoned and senior member of the UN secretariat, she associated herself with the "new image that the UN is getting as more oriented towards peace-keeping."

Among those at Jan Smuts to meet her were National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antone Gildenhuys, Minister of Education and Training Sam de Beer and Mrs King's deputy Ismat Steiner, who has been in South Africa for about two weeks.

The full UN team here will eventually number 50.
Labour Update: Rolling mass campaign gathers steam

Mass action rolls on with new moves

By Ike Motsapi

The Harare office of the rolling mass action campaign of Cosatu, the ANC and SACP began in earnest this week with a series of events planned for up to year's end.

Some of the planned action includes selective consumer boycotts in certain areas.

Tomorrow Cosatu will march to the Mozambican border to demand the de-electrification of the border fence.

The March is part of the tripartite alliance mass action campaign aimed at installing a new democratic government by the end of the year.

Dismissed workers

And as from October 1 until the end of the month, Cosatu plans to occupy the national headquarters of companies that have dismissed workers.

Other tactics still to be decided and finalized by Cosatu, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party will be used to force employers to reinstate those workers.

During mid-October Cosatu members will support a strike by its affiliate, the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union for centralised bargaining.

The October 11 to 19 period will be regarded as a week of action for political and violence demands.

Large scale occupation of Government buildings and blockades of all cities and towns are to take place on October 12 during the opening of Parliament.

Cosatu is considering holding the people's assembly on that day.

Proposals for a work stayaway on this day is to be discussed by the affiliates and finalised at a special central executive committee of Cosatu on October 1.

On October 11, which is regarded as the International Day of Political Prisoners, Cosatu plans to march to prisons throughout the country to demand that prisoners be released.

Free activity

Cosatu also wants to intensify its campaign for free political activity in all the homelands.

Some of the points to be considered are:

The need to intensify the struggle so as to move as speedily as possible to the holding of elections for a democratic Constituent Assembly;

A climate has to be created for the holding of such elections, meaning that the alliance should intensify the campaign for free political activity and an end to violence;

Solidarity action in support of dismissed workers and workers affected by violence;

Selective boycotts

Companies implicated in attacks on Cosatu members must be given ultimatum, after which they must be targeted for selective boycotts;

Cosatu to investigate the implications of a judgment against the Numsa strike for the right to go on strike;

The need to finalise the Workers Charter campaign and ensure that the workers summit takes place before the end of the year;

Cosatu to assist in the establishment of structures in drought affected areas, including helping to establish public works programmes and;

Intensify and revive the campaign around VAT and lower food prices.
Gun runners getting US arms into SA

The arms deal is the center of attention. It was announced in December 2013 in the wake of the UN Security Council's demand to end the arms trade. The weapons involved were small arms, light weapons and tactical equipment.

The US State Department is responsible for the negotiation and delivery of arms. It is also responsible for the licensing and oversight of the sale of arms. The Department of Justice is responsible for the enforcement of the Arms Export Act. The Department of Defense is responsible for the production and distribution of the arms.

The arms deal has been heavily criticized by human rights organizations. They argue that the sale of arms is a violation of international law and that it is used to fuel conflicts.

The arms deal has also been criticized by the US Congress. They argue that the sale of arms is a waste of taxpayer money and that it is used to support authoritarian regimes.

The arms deal has also been criticized by the US public. They argue that the sale of arms is a violation of international law and that it is used to fuel conflicts.

The arms deal has been under scrutiny by the US government. The government has been conducting investigations into the arms deal and has been imposing sanctions on individuals and companies involved in the arms trade.
The African National Congress has plans to go ahead with its march on Ulundi in protest against "the absence of free political activity" in the area.

On the other hand, KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that if the ANC went ahead with the march there would be a bloodbath "that would make Bisho look like a Sunday school picnic".

The ANC has responded by saying it is the inalienable and democratic right of every man, woman and child to protest publicly.

This particular exchange - between Buthelezi and the ANC - ironically puts the Government's role as the protector of the life and liberty of its subjects in the spotlight.

In democracies around the world (and traditionally) the government of the day will see to it that the right to life and liberty of its citizens is protected.

The fact, then, that Buthelezi has threatened to repeat the Bisho massacre - in as many words - and bearing in mind the alliance between him and Pretoria, means that it is the South African Government that will go on trial when the ANC marches on Ulundi.

The ANC believes that as a creation of apartheid, the actions of KwaZulu remain the "direct responsibility" of the Government.

Having said this, the Government finds itself in the precarious position of having to protect its opposition (ANC) from its biggest ally (Buthelezi).

Turning, then, to the Government, it is significant to note that President FW de Klerk is fond of saying he is a democrat.

His government is also one of the staunchest supporters of a bill of fundamental human rights for a new South Africa.

Such a bill should, if one looks for examples from the American one, include:
- Freedom of speech, expression and the Press;
- Freedom of religion;
- Freedom of assembly and association;
- The right to equal protection by the law; and
- The right to due process of the law and fair trial.

Can or will De Klerk's Government enforce what it supports within the proposed bill of rights?

The reality in South Africa is that the Government has not derived its (just) power from the consent of those it governs.

One should note, incidentally, that a mere six percent of the governed voted for the ruling National Party in the last election in 1989.

And looking at the Government's response to the Bisho massacre - no formal protest was made - and bearing in mind the political alliance Pretoria has with Ciskei, just thinking about what can happen at Ulundi is frightening.

Walking through the devastation in the aftermath of Bisho, the following scenario can be drawn: Only South Africa regards Ciskei as independent.

For the sake of argument, let us assume that Ciskei is "another country".

It can also, then, be assumed that when the Ciskei defence force opened fire on South African citizens, the first thing Pretoria should have done was to rush to the rescue of its subjects.

It did not. Instead it blamed the victims.

The issue is perhaps still sub judice but where was Pretoria's police force when it was meant to protect its people?

The answer might not be the ideal one but Pretoria needs Ciskei to secure its political objectives, so it is unlikely that the Government will "declare war" on the homeland for having brutally killed South Africans.

What then about Ulundi and the ANC's proposed march on KwaZulu capital?

As is the case with Ciskei, nobody but Pretoria recognises the sovereignty of KwaZulu, and by implication, its security establishment.

The question here is: Will the South African Police be there to protect the lives of its citizens from the security forces of the area?

As with Ciskei, the answer is the same.

Pretoria needs KwaZulu, too, to secure its political objectives.

Where, then, does that leave Pretoria's citizens?

Clearly between the barrel and the wall at this stage.

If one pulls together all the above it is clear that the people of any - even emerging - democracies have a right to protest, and the government of the day is duty-bound to protect them.

Also, if Ciskei can be used as a yardstick, the people who did not vote for the present Government stand a very serious chance of being shot down on the street.
Summit is on

Magoo's Bar bomber "goes free" to pave way for talks tomorrow

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

A SUMMIT on violence between President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela is on and is likely to be held tomorrow.

Final arrangements for the meeting are being made today at talks between Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary general Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, government and ANC sources confirmed.

A joint statement is expected later.

Part of the deal between the government and the ANC is that three controversial prisoners — Magoo's Bar bomber Robert Mabidele, and Mfundo Ndhlovu and Nhlanhla Mncubi, who were convicted for planting the Messina landmines — will be released on parole and a number of other "political" prisoners will be freed.

The ANC may also have given undertakings on its mass action campaign.

Obstacles linked to migrant workers and the banning of dangerous weapons have been overcome. A number of problems about hostels being fenced and people who wish to carry traditional weapons for cultural purposes will have to apply for permission.

A breakthrough in the "talks about talks" came yesterday after an exchange of letters between Mr. De Klerk and Mr. Mandela.

The State President proposed that the three ANC fighters should be conditionally released and apply for parole.

Legislation on the release of prisoners may have to be introduced at next month's short parliament session in Cape Town. Prisoners who are not ANC members may also be affected.

There has been a wrangle between the government and the ANC over a general amnesty for all people involved in crimes with a political undertone, but the ANC is now understood to have given some assurance that it would back an amnesty once a transitional government had been installed.

The summit agreement comes after a fortnight of virtually non-stop negotiations.

These followed an urgent plea by Mr. De Klerk on September 10 for a summit with Mr. Mandela to prevent the country sliding into uncontrolled violence.

His invitation followed the Bisho massacre and ANC threats of further mass action.

Mr. Mandela said yesterday that he was determined to go ahead with the summit only if he felt hopeful of announcing the resumption of constitutional negotiations at its conclusion.

If agreement is not reached in the first round of talks, they will resume when Mr. Mandela returns from a two-week visit to Pakistan and India, which starts next Wednesday.

The first indication that the summit was on came from UN Secretary-General Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who said last night that Mr. Mandela had told him obstacles had been overcome and that the meeting would take place "imminently".

He warmly welcomed this development and praised Mr. De Klerk and the ANC leader for their perseverance and leadership.
Churches rethink role in peace accord

By PAT SIDLEY

SOUTH AFRICAN churches which helped broker the National Peace Accord are to meet today to review the church’s role in the peace accord.

On the agenda for discussion is the widespread disillusionment with the accord and the possibility of churches withdrawing from it.

The meeting, hosted by the South African Council of Churches, will consist of all church-based members serving in the peace accord structures, which include local and regional dispute resolution committees, the Peace Secretariat and the National Peace Committee.

The meeting comes in the wake of a high degree of scepticism at grassroots level on the working and effectiveness of the peace pact.

According to church sources, some of whom articulated these views at the recent SACC annual conference, many feel that they cannot trust the motives of the government funding and assistance of peace accord structures.

At the SACC meeting, several delegates queried the newly passed legislation designed to beef up the peace accord structures by using government resources.

Delegates involved in the peace accord, such as Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba, who will be present at today’s meeting, had urged the need for the legislation and for the resources—but others were more sceptical.

Additionally, the church sources say, there is a marked lack of trust on the ground in committee meetings where, as one put it, “people complain about the police, while the police are on the committee sitting there and taking notes”.

Other participants in the meeting, however, will argue for the need for the accord and all its structures.

They say, from their own involvement in the structures, that where committees have worked well, violence has declined markedly.

Methodist Bishop Peter Storey, who will chair the meeting, said: “The National Peace Accord is a document quite unique in all the world, and has within it a powerful potential to bring an end to violence. But this depends on the integrity and commitment of all parties involved.”
DEATHS AND INJURIES

A TOTAL of 71 people were killed and 68 injured mainly in the PWV and Natal. According to the Human Rights Commission (HRC), the figures are slightly higher than the previous week's total of 47 deaths and 63 injuries.

REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

ON September 17, Minister of Law and Order Hermus Kriel declared several eastern Cape districts as unrest areas. They are: Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. Twenty-two townships in the PWV and 10 other districts in the eastern Cape also remain unrest areas.

DETENIONS

ACCORDING to a police report, 95 people are being held under the Public Safety Act including a hunger striker at the Leeufonte Prison, Lotus Perdee.

In Bophuthatswana, seven students arrested on September 18 are being detained under Section 25 of the homeland's Internal Security Act.

SECURITY FORCE ACTIONS

A TOTAL of 787 people were arrested and one injured in Ciskei, Border and eastern Cape.

VIGILANTE ACTIONS

FORTY-FIVE people were killed and 58 injured in the PWV and Natal. The week's flashpoint is the East Rand where 18 people died and 20 injured.
JOHANNESBURG. — The efficiency of the National Peace Accord and its sub-structures were vigorously defended by National Peace Accord chairman Mr John Hall yesterday at a South African Council of Churches-arranged one-day national consultation on the NPA.

"The NPA document is still alive, well and kicking today, despite some recent comments to the contrary," Mr Hall told delegates. The National Peace Secretariat remained the engine room of the accord. Its regional and local sub-structures were working effectively and had made major contributions to the containment of violence, particularly during mass action, Mr Hall said.

Referring to further attempts to curb political violence, Mr Hall said political tolerance agreements should be reached in which political leaders would allow normal electioneering activities in their territories.

Specifically pointing at the KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana leaderships, Mr Hall said the normalisation of free political activity in these territories would negate the need for mass action.

"The top leadership has the power to stop clandestine activities in exchange for the freedom of political activity in territories such as KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana."

Mr Hall stressed that the church was one of the driving forces behind the NPA, but added that the church could act more vigorously in the peace process. He called for the "troublesome" voice of the church to be heard more loudly. — Sapa
Hostels report issued

JOHannesburg. — Not all hostels are associated with violence and it would therefore be inappropriate to fence them all off, according to the interim report on hostels of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said a preliminary report by the committee investigating the issue had led to the withdrawal of the commission's earlier recommendation that all hostels be fenced off.

According to the report "not all hostels are associated with violence, and the problem should properly be seen as one of criminality in a limited number of hostels."

Mr Justice Goldstone's interim report, dated September 21 and released by the State President's Office yesterday, was issued urgently in the light of talks between the government and representatives of, among others, the African National Congress, concerning hostels.

At the commission's request, the Human Sciences Research Council has begun a project aimed at assisting sensitive future development of hostels. — Sapa
The committee notes the high level of violence.

The commission's recommendation is that the Waterfront Programme should be continued and expanded, with a focus on integrating the police. The commission recommends that the police should have a stronger presence in the Waterfront area, with additional resources allocated for this purpose.

The Waterfront Programme is considered a success, with reductions in crime and improvements in community safety. The commission acknowledges the efforts of the police and other stakeholders in achieving these results.

The committee is concerned about the safety of the Waterfront area and recommends that the police should be given greater powers to deal with crime and anti-social behavior.

The commission agrees with the committee's recommendations and will continue to monitor the situation closely.
What was decided

BY MIDDAY yesterday President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela had rubber-stamped a broad range of agreements reached by key negotiators Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa over the past few weeks of intensive negotiations.

On a CONSTITUTION MAKING BODY it was agreed that:

● There will be a democratically elected constituent assembly which will serve as an interim parliament;
● It will draft and adopt a new constitution. It will sit as a single chamber and take decisions by special majorities;
● It will be bound only by those principles agreed to beforehand;
● It will operate for a fixed time and will be elected within an agreed time frame;
● It will have deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

On an INTERIM GOVERNMENT it was agreed that there will be an interim government of national unity, operating in terms of an interim constitution.

On POLITICAL PRISONERS it was agreed that:
● One hundred and fifty will be released before Monday — 160 have already been released;
● Only prisoners who committed offences prior to October 8 1990 will be released;
● Robert McBride and the two Moslem bombers will be released on Monday in terms of a parole application approved by prison authorities on Friday;
● The remaining political prisoners — about 250 — will be released by November 15. After the summit, they will be categorised — not in terms of their crime, but rather its political motivation;
● Legislation will be introduced in October concerning prisoners serving life sentences. Once passed, McBride and the others' parole conditions will fall away;
● The question of a general amnesty will not be linked to the release of political prisoners. The ANC gave a verbal undertaking that it would be dealt with by an interim government of national unity.

On the control of DANGEROUS WEAPONS it was agreed that:
● The public display of dangerous weapons, which includes traditional weapons, will be banned;
● A proclamation to this effect will be drafted with the assistance of the Goldstone commission. It will set out guidelines under which exemptions will be granted by magistrates. These could include gatherings such as Shaka day.

―By lunchtime, the question of SECURING HOSTELS was still being discussed. However, the draft detailed agreement between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer identifies more than 24 hostel, primarily in the PWV region, that need to be dealt with urgently. They agreed that:
● Security will be implemented in terms of recommendations contained in the latest report of the Goldstone commission;
● There will be security patrols and a police presence outside the hostels involved;
● Hostels will be adequately fenced.
The Lion's Den

A March into My Way

With Khuhi Shyia

In response to the recent debate on the ANC's leadership and its policies, I would like to express my thoughts on the situation.

The ANC has been in power for many years, and during this time, it has made significant strides in promoting social justice and empowerment. However, recent internal divisions and leadership challenges have raised concerns about the party's future.

One of the core values of the ANC is the struggle against apartheid. This struggle was fought by a tireless generation of activists who fought for democracy and equality. As one of their admirers, I believe it is important to remember the roots of the ANC and the sacrifices made.

The recent leadership changes have been tumultuous, with varying opinions on who should lead the party. I believe that the ANC needs strong leadership to navigate these challenges.

In conclusion, while the ANC has faced its fair share of challenges, it is crucial to remember its history and continue to support the party as it works to address the social and economic issues facing South Africa.

Yours sincerely,

[Your Name]
WITH tensions mounting in the KwaZulu homeland in advance of planned ANC marches aimed at securing free political expression in the territory, the spotlight again falls on the sincerity of the National Peace Accord. It is precisely the kind of potentially explosive violence which now pertains in the homeland – ANC supporters claim they are being harassed and planned marches on KwaMakhos and Ulundi threatened to turn into bloodbaths – which the Peace Accord was designed to deal with.

Yet, at the time when it is most needed, the credibility of the NPA has fallen to its lowest ebb to date.

**Incidents**

Two recent incidents involving structures associated with the Accord illustrate some of the questions which are being asked.

One, as reported by current affairs newsletter, *Adventurist*, concerns the role played by Peace Accord structures in the recent crisis which grew up in the Chikeli early this year.

In March, NPA chairman Jack Hall abandoned his usual neutrality to strongly condemn ANC protests and mass actions in the Border region, describing them as being potentially inflammatory and contrary to the spirit of the Accord.

However, at the time, the following situation prevailed in the area:

- Chikeli military ruler Brig. Oupa Gqozo had used his Internal Security Act in November 1991 in order to ban the ANC from organising in Chikeli.
- He had prohibited the Border Regional Dispute Resolution Committee from meeting in the territory;
- ANC Peace Accord representatives were banned – on pain of detention – from coming into the area.

All of this was in contradiction not only of the spirit of the Peace Accord, but also of its letter. The unanimous position adopted by the RDRC at this point was that Gqozo was in breach of the accord.

However, in assessing the situation, Hall neglected to make any mention of Gqozo's violations of the Peace Accord and chose instead to focus on the ANC's plans for mass action, planned as peaceful and assessed aimed at securing a climate of free political expression – both of which are specifically approved in the Accord.

Border RDRC chairman Reg Mason, a consultant with Mercedes Benz, felt so strongly about what he perceived as a misrepresentation of the true situation that he resigned from his post in protest. This moved Hall to apologise, reasserting the unfortunate omission of any reference to Chikeli's breaches of the Accord.

But by this stage the RDRC had left the Accord. Gqozo was quick to capitalise by attempting to set up his own "friendly" RDRC structures without ANC representatives.

Later, on the occasion of the first ANC march in Bisho on August 3, Gqozo compounded his fouling of the NPA by refusing entry into the territory to Peace Secretariat representatives, as well as UN monitors and other mandated observers. The reason for the ban was that one of the Peace Secretariat party was ANC representative Thomas Smith.

Even at this point Peace Accord structures failed to publicly censure Gqozo.

Nor has the situation improved in the wake of the September 7 Bisho Massacre. There still exists a list of peace accord representatives who are refused entry to the Chikeli.

The second incident involving Peace Accord structures which calls its credibility into question concerns the recent Peace Accord judgment that Natal Midlands ANC vice-chair Reggie Hadebe had been guilty of breaching the Peace Accord by holding a mock-trial of 11 Inkatha members, during which they were allegedly "sentenced to death."

Last week a panel appointed by the national Peace Secretariat found that Hadebe had breached the accord and held him in contempt of its provisions.

However, as trials go, the trial of Hadebe was hardly less of a kangaroo affair than the one he was accused of presiding over. Hadebe had not been allowed to call evidence in his own defence; he had been in hospital recovering from an assassination attempt when the hearing was due to take place.

And though a second date was set for his evidence, he was not informed of it. Hadebe insists he did not, but neither the substance of the correctness of Hadebe nor the fact that the NPA tribunal had not heard his side of the story, stopped it from recording its own version of "guilt".

Yet the NPA released its report on the Hadebe incident this week – despite the fact that earlier an embarrassed Hall had agreed to reopen the hearings in view of the conclusion of evidence.

Other incidents which call into question Peace Accord structures include:

- Peace Accord structures are administered exclusively by officials seconded from the State civil service;
- A confidential NP translucent document advises members to get involved in Peace Accord structures as a means to gaining black voters;
- United Nations violence monitors (15 at present, with a further 35 expected shortly) have been careful to distance themselves from the structures of the Accord.

Although originally mandated to work in conjunction with Peace Accord structures, they have instead established their own offices in Johannesburg and Natal.

**New grouping**


This in response to what established monitoring agencies perceived as an attempt on the part of Peace Accord-linked groups to hijack the monitoring process to its own ends.

The initial Peace Secretariat version of violence monitoring would have monitored members into space of violence by steering intervention in tensions after than attempting to discover the cause.

This would have been achieved by means of a code of conduct which was drafted around a central information centre which would collect, disseminate all information - without making the information public.
The right to seek freedom has erupted into a major debate among Christians because of the dangers of mass action.

Some argue that if the door to negotiations is wide open there is no reason to kick it down.

But are we to ignore and climb over the bodies of suffering people who lie in front of the door? Others say mass action is too risky to be supported, for people’s lives are at stake.

In some places in our country freedoms are taken for granted which do not exist in other places.

Irresponsible

Even in countries where freedom does exist it has never been a reason to prevent the lobbying and peaceful demonstration which take place in every free society from London to Washington. Mass political protest is a democratic right, and sometimes a duty.

For years many church leaders said: “Violence is wrong; we must not take up arms”, and urged the liberation movements to abandon the armed struggle.

The ANC did suspend the armed struggle in 1991, and engaged in normal peaceful action. Now some Christians are saying this is irresponsible because peaceful protest is too risky. This negates what they said before and creates a situation which could revert to violence.

Peaceful protest has a long history and great theological credibility. The church was so committed to it that, when the government prevented peaceful protest in February 1988, the church protested verbally and actively.

Leaders of all the churches put a pencil through their diaries, flew to Cape Town and marched on Parliament in the face of military opposition. They were attacked with water cannon and sent to prison.

Subsequently, we campaigned to demonstrate to all South Africans the supreme importance of non-violent action, and we strongly defended freedom of public expression of political dissent.

In the present crisis this same reality faces us.

To state that peaceful protest is not acceptable if it might be subjected to violent attack is to capitulate to the forces of violence.

Have we allowed the violence to undermine our belief in the efficacy of non-violent action? That is to draw back from the Cross.

If violent response to violent repression is not permitted, and non-violent response to violent repression is also not permitted, what option do we have?

There is no morality in making ideological distinctions which leave people in their chains. We have destroyed our people’s freedom to act in any way at all.

If we deny people methods of responding to the violence which is persecuting and killing them, we can never again suggest that those who take up arms have a peaceful alternative. Are we telling them that the only solution is to resume the armed struggle?

If we do not defend the rights of people to peaceful protest now in this present crisis, how shall we be able to maintain that right in future, whatever government is in power?

Our task is not to castigate those who protest peacefully against violent regimes; but to overcome the evil with good. We must defeat the threat of violent action with the reality of peaceful action, and if necessary suffer the violence.

The apartheid regime has always found it necessary to support itself by violence, and still does. The necessity for demonstrations against it will end only when the structures it is necessary to defend by violence are removed.

Injustice

For two-and-a-half years people have been told to refrain from action because the door is open to negotiation, while 10,000 have been killed to undermine the ability to go through that door.

Many more lives are now at stake. Repeated crises will occur while illegitimate regimes rule us. Has the time come again for Christians to unite in protractive peaceful action, defending the basic freedoms of our people to insist on the removal of injustice and the swift establishment of a democratic regime in every part of our land?

Rev. Chikane is the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.
Mandela pays tribute to Gandhi

The Gandhian philosophy of peace, tolerance and non-violence may be the key to human survival in the 21st century, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in his first public address since the summit with President F W de Klerk on Saturday.

Officially opening the Gandhi Hall in Lenasia yesterday, Mr Mandela was given a standing ovation when he said negotiations between the ANC and the Government had resumed.

He said the Gandhian philosophy began in South Africa as a powerful instrument of social change.

"South Africa has a legacy of racism and violence perpetuated by decades of apartheid rule," he said.

"If the Mahatma was here today he would tell us that the root cause of the violence in our country is apartheid. He would have warned us not to allow the philosophy of divide-and-rule to sow seeds of division in our midst, but to unite and restore human freedom to all South Africans," he said.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had spearheaded "the path to lasting peace" in South Africa.

"Our initiative to negotiate with the Government and the suspension of our armed struggle arose out of our desire to bring about an end to the systematic violence that apartheid created — indeed, to bring an end to the racial division apartheid implanted upon us.

"We have established that we, the ANC, want to have freedom for all in this country but, I have..."
Church group will keep eye on violence

Staff Reporter

The Eminent Church Persons Group yesterday launched the Ecumenical Monitoring Programme to monitor violence on an ongoing basis.

At a press conference at Khotso House in Johannesburg, before leaving after a six-day study of violence, the group said the first team of monitors would arrive next month.

According to the group, at every place they visited, including Soweto, Durban, Umgadi, Fort Shepstone, East London, Bishop Mantsane and Fort Hare University, people affirmed the need for monitors.

The members of the group are the Rt Rev Sir Paul Reeves, Anglican observer at the United Nations; Christine Davis, president of the Council of Churches in Britain and Ireland; Bishop Melvin Talbert of the United Methodist Church; Jorgo Eustrup, member of Parliament in Denmark; and Bishop Boniface Tsobosa of Gaborone and member of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.
Churches back 'flawed' accord

RAY HARTLEY

Churches would continue to take part in and support the national peace accord in spite of its having some key weaknesses which had emerged over the past year, the Methodist Church's Bishop Peter Storey said at the weekend.

Storey, said at a media briefing after a church consultation on the accord, that the original committee of churchmen who initiated the pact a year ago, would reconvene shortly to re-evaluate it.

Among weaknesses Storey cited were:

1. Peace committees in some regions lacked balance and were dominated by government or business;
2. The SADF had not followed the example set by police and signed the accord's code of conduct;
3. Peace accord structures were "helpless" in exposing and identifying the perpetrators of covert action;
4. SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane said earlier he supported the defiance of laws which negated basic human rights.

Referring to the proposed march on Pretoria, he said the church would find itself in a "very serious contradiction" if it urged people not to protest non-violently.
IFP dashes new hopes
raised at peace summit

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

Hopes for peace and an early resumption of negotiations, raised after the
Kempton Park peace summit, sank yesterday when Inkatha Freedom Party
announced its withdrawal from talks.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also rejected the agreements reached between
ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and State
President FW de Klerk at Saturday's summit.

Buthelezi says the ANC had held the Government "up to ransom" at the meeting.

"The IFP and the KwaZulu government will not be bound by any decisions reached in bilat-
eral negotiations between the Government and the ANC," Buthelezi said.

"I declare that any laws which the South African Government may be able to pilot through
Parliament giving effect to bilateral agreements between itself and the ANC will be re-
jected as spurious and illegitimate by the IFP and the KwaZulu government," Buthelezi said.

The Government agreed to prepare and pilot legislation through Parliament in October which
will make it possible for the release of more political prisoners.

The summit itself was made possible by an agreement placed as a pre-requisite by the ANC
- by the Government to release all remaining political prisoners.

The release of at least 150 started on Friday night while Robert McBride (30), Mzwandile
Mondela (29), and Mzhelele Mncube (32) are expected to be released today.

As many as 250 others will be released by November 15 in terms of the legislation which
will go before Parliament next month.

Other agreements reached at Saturday's sum-
mit include a ban on the possession and public
display of weapons and the fencing of hostels -
both will be done in terms of guidelines estab-
lished by the Goldstone Commission.

While these were the ANC's central de-
mands, other agreements reached included con-
sensus that a democratically elected constituent assembly would draft a constitu-
tion within a pre-determined period in terms of
principles agreed beforehand and with effective
deadlock breaking mechanisms firmly in place.

The Government and the ANC also agreed that there would be an interim government of
national unity that would govern in terms of an
interim constitution.

A "bosbokdrad", a lekgotla by Mandela,
will be held between the Government and the
ANC where four "outstanding issues" will be
discussed. These are:
- A climate for free political activity.
- Repressive security legislation.
- Covert operations and special forces.
- Violence.

The ANC said in return that it would reconsid-
er mass action and consult with its regions.

In announcing the agreements, De Klerk and
Mandela said a firm basis was laid for the
resumption of negotiations that were initially
collapsed at Codesa 2 in May and later sus-
pended by the ANC after the incidents at Boipatong.

In conclusion, Mandela said: "It is the duty of
all South Africans to ensure our efforts today
and the sacrifices of so many are not in vain.
"Let us move forward with courage, honesty
and determination to build upon and consoli-
date today's summit to create a peaceful, just
and democratic South Africa."

Meanwhile, it was reported yesterday that the
Government will release mass murderer Barund
Stydoll, possibly today.
Transvaal, Natal hostels to be fenced

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

JOHANNESBURG. — The government undertook at the summit on violence to start fencing 28 hostels in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereenging area and Natal before October 22 and to complete the work by November 15.

The details are outlined in the implementation programme agreed to at Saturday's talks between President de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Hostels are to be fenced "to prevent criminality by hostel-dwellers and to protect the residents from external aggression".

Two-metre fences with limited access points "shall be maintained until the situation has stabilised to the satisfaction of the Goldstone Commission", according to the programme.
Bettina Schmidt and Paul Drechsel comment on a strange refusal to learn

Going further down the low road

The first thing that strikes the observer visiting South Africa is the enduring violence, and the seeming inwiliness of a wide section of the population — black and white — to learn the lessons of this century's economic and political history.

The situation is complex but reveals a five-point paradigm which seems to underpin political intolerance in this country.

First, there is the belief that South Africa can solve its problems on its own. Secondly, there is the belief that South Africa is a special case and cannot be compared with any other country.

Thirdly, the belief that the best way to solve the most urgent problems is to destroy all political and economic preconditions for a solution. This is a satisfying — problems, and a mighty godfather in the form of bureaucratic power, and only if they are in power, will all problems be solved.

All these aspects have different implications for black and white — yet with similar consequences.

Since the beginning of this century, white South Africa has isolated itself. It has created the ideology of a singular and unique society in the world. It has, despite industrialisation and economic growth until the '70s, demolished all political and economic conditions for a better life for all South Africans. It has created a centralised super-bureaucracy, as the godfather for supposedly all South Africans, and it has implemented exclusive democratic institutions.

The power of whites was believed to be the precondition for the well-being of all South Africans — blacks included.

Blacks, based on ANC policy, aim at isolating themselves by choosing a revolutionary path in the struggle for power. They emphasise the ideology of a singular unique society. They stress the aim for the regulation and redistribution of wealth which will destroy the weak yet functioning economy. A hopeless isolation of the country will be the logical result, achieving once more something similar to sanctions, but this time not imposed externally. The creation of an all-embracing super-bureaucracy 'as the best godfather is a declared aim.'

Finally, they want to establish democracy through one-person one-vote, as a precondition for a new, unified central power on behalf of all South Africans.

Is there a fundamental difference between these two belief systems? The more realistic approach for a system to address the problems would be to open up society to world-wide competition and discussion. Accepting that South Africa is not a special case in the world, freeing the economy in a decentralised open market economy with competition, and reducing the bureaucracy making it serve the people, not being their master, and finally, accepting that one-person one-vote is not necessarily a sufficient condition for democracy.

In former socialist countries, they had a kind of one-person one-vote. Democratic voting in a centralist system, as existing in South Africa, could mean voting once again for totalitarianism. That is a solution would be a non-centralised form of voting (one person, many votes) which means an electoral system based on regional voting, which presupposes a regional focus on productivity in the form of a decentralised, non-monoplistic industry, agriculture and markets and a regionalised bureaucracy securing opportunities for individual wealth-creation. Only a kind of democratic federalism can bring South Africa out of the mess.

One-person one-vote should give South Africans as the tool to control leaders' and especially those in power, and not only serve as a means to bring them into power.

But control means devolution of power, institutionally and regionally. Dr. Paul Drechsel and Bettina Schmidt are anthropologists from University of Mainz, Germany, currently attached to Wits University while doing research on the economic and socio-political transformation of South Africa.
ANC to decide on mass action strategy

ANC national leaders have begun a series of meetings with militant regions about their mass action plans, following a weekend agreement with government to return to talks and review planned protests.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu met the ANC's southern Natal and Natal Midlands regions yesterday and was expected to meet officials from the northern Natal branch today to discuss a planned march on Ulundi.

The ANC's western Cape region is scheduled to meet national officials this week to discuss a planned blockade of the October 12 opening of Parliament by President F W de Klerk.

It is believed the regions will argue for the continuation of mass action.

ANC Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe said mass action and negotiations could not be divorced from one another.

In another development, Hadebe yesterday rejected a national peace committee offer to reopen the inquiry which found him guilty of violating the peace accord during a mock trial which sentenced Inkhata leaders to death.

Hadebe said the panel would have to publicly apologise for its judgment before he would consider testifying.

Meanwhile, Inkhata national chairman Frank Mdlalose asked ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday to answer questions on manipulation of the ANC by radicals, including the SACP's Ronnie Kasrila.

In a strongly worded statement, Mdlalose accused the ANC of "a covert programme to dovetail with its overt one" which included "incitement, intimidation, sabotage and assassination"
Political violence: death toll soars

The number of people killed in political violence countrywide last week increased alarmingly.

Seventy-one people were killed during the week from September 16 to 22, compared to the previous week's toll of 47.

In addition, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) reports that 68 people were injured, compared to the previous week when 63 people were injured.

"Vigilante-related" actions accounted for 45 deaths and 56 injuries, with incidents reported only in the PWV and Natal," the HRC points out.

"The death toll in the PWV region exceeded that in Natal, which accounted for 21 deaths and 14 injuries."

With the controversy still raging over deaths in police custody, two more deaths behind bars were reported during this period. This brings to 93 the number of people who have died in police custody so far this year.

Six prisoners at an East London prison, who were jailed for murders committed during unrest in 1986, have gone on a hunger strike to draw attention to their demand for immediate release as political prisoners.

A Correctional Service spokesperson said the six, who claimed to be members of the ANC, were eight days into their hunger strike. They were in a "satisfactory condition".

During this period three people were killed and four injured in separate incidents in Khayelitsha and Nyanga.

In the Ciskei eight people were killed and seven injured in separate incidents in the same period.

However, the HRC adds that reports were received of attacks in the Ciskei in which no injuries were recorded but extensive damage was caused to properties."
Police hammered

news in brief

Attacks cause transport freeze

RESIDENTS of Ratanda near Heidelberg yesterday entered the second day of a stayaway following a hand grenade attack on a bus transporting workers on Monday.

One person was killed and 33 others injured when two men threw hand grenades into the bus as it passed the Ratanda Hostel. Local ANC branch chairman Mr Obed Nkosi said yesterday the protest was complicated by the withdrawal of transport by bus and taxi owners for fear of further attacks.

Buthelezi, Tutu exchange views

SOUTH Africa's political leaders should observe a moratorium on violent attacks on one another, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in a joint statement yesterday.

The two met for about two hours at Ulundi to exchange views on the church's role in bringing about political unity and peace.

The statement said Tutu would pursue the idea of a moratorium further. Tutu also raised the issue of the IFP's withdrawal from negotiations.
ANC with Violence
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The Exiles Extra Committee
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Chaos edges nearer

SOUTH Africa could plunge into Somalia-type chaos, starvation and civil war unless its leaders quickly negotiate peace and disarm warring factions, Mr John Allwood, local director of World Vision, said yesterday.

Allwood said the region was becoming a powder-keg with the young taking up arms to get bread.

"That is what is happening in Somalia today," he said.

"It could happen here tomorrow unless the politicians step in to solve the problems and do something to halt the murderous international traffic in arms. Chaos is even nearer here than we think," he said.
Meiring claims MK plan sabotage

own Correspondent
Johannesburg — The ANC's military wing umkhonto we sisele has plans to undertake acts of sabotage against government installations and infrastructures during the fourth phase of its mass action programme, SA Army chief lieutenant general Georg Meiring said.

Available information made it clear that MK members would be deployed among mass action participants during "exigate" to provoke the security forces of SA and the TBVC states, General Meiring told a military parade in Voortrekkerhoogte on Wednesday.

His speech was released to the media yesterday.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus last night rejected General Meiring's claims as "utterly untrue" and said the ANC was committed to a peaceful campaign of mass action which would be conducted within the parameters laid down by the Goldstone Commission and the National Peace Accord.
R W Johnson examines the issues behind the homeland marches

No-go areas abound as micro-regions mushroom

The Star got it nearly all wrong on the Bisho massacre.... The Star did not deal with the real issue.... The real issue in the Cape, in Bop.... is straightforwardly political freedom.

On the 'ace of it', this claim - advanced as the rationale for marches on Bophuthatswana, Umzimkulu or Umzimkulu, and repeated in The Star's letter column last week, seems not unreasonable: the Chiskei is a military dictatorship and even if Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana government has issued from elections of a sort, democratic standards in Bophuthatswana have reached a level lower than Athenian level.

But at that point the argument peters out. There are 10 bands and the rhetoric about marching-for-freedom was only used in the case of four of them - oddly, only one of the three military dictatorships was targeted.

This makes it difficult to believe political freedom is "the real issue". The argument remains important despite the weekend agreement to end mass action (when one reads that the ANC agreed or "examined" its mass action campaign, one assumes this is movement-based for "stop"").

Whether the motive behind the marches was ever "political freedom" remains in some doubt. If it were so, why would the marchers have queued their own pitch by declaring that their objective was to topple Qomo/Qampepo/Buthela? Such rhetoric was bound to result in the diminution of political freedom, not its enlargement, as the targeted homeland rulers inevitably cracked down harder in the atmosphere of heightened threat. Either the march organizers didn't mean such threats, in which case they were stupid; or they did mean them, in which case their argument for political freedom is disingenuous, even cynical.

The truth would seem to be that in the current feverish climate a lot of people are saying and doing a lot of wild and foolish things.

One sees it in personal lives: the strains of living in a violent society, with negative growth and an uncertain future, are very great.

Lots of private difficulties can be traced to social tensions and it's hardly surprising that a lot of current political behaviour is unbalanced, overreacted and confrontational. If only it were possible, everyone needs to calm down.

If one looks calmly at the homeland record, one is struck by a paradox. Under John Vorster and P.W. Botha the country was unfree, but Bophuthatswana provided an island of relative liberalism. The Bop media were more progressive than the SABC and many a radical academic sought refuge at Unito. And Mangosuthu, Buthela had the best anti-apartheid record of any homeland leader, refusing independence and campaigning for Nelson Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC.

Then, when F.W. de Klerk freed things up across the country, new alliances emerged and we were asked to accept that President Mangope and Chief Butterelisi, far from being the most progressive homeland leaders, were actually the most reactionary.

But what has changed most has little to do with principle: it is that we have now entered an era of alliance politics. Take the coloured Labour Party, for example. It drew ANC fire when it joined Chief Butterelisi's Black Alliance, but is now happily accepted as an ANC ally - even though the LP continues to sit in the tricameral parliament, which the ANC (and Inkatha) reject on principle.

The "real issue" here is plain enough, but there's little to do with freedom, everything to do with power. But what of political freedom? ANC marchers into Mambatho or Umtata would clearly be taking their lives in their hands. But it is deplorable that this should be so, but it is so.

For the truth is that South Africa is full of no-go areas for one party or another. Chief Buthelezi was nearly killed when he tried to attend Robert Sobukwe's funeral in the Eastern Cape, and ANC militants have prevented Mr du Klerk from speaking on the Cape Plateau in East London.

There are scores of communities in Natal or on the Reef where ANC "comrades" would be killed virtually on sight, scores more where the same applies to the IFP. The PAC complains of being on the receiving end of ANC violence in other communities.

In some areas Inkatha shocktroops fight one another for territorial control, in others rival gangs of ANC "comrades" do the same.

Deploring this lack of civil rights is a good, liberal response to this situation, but it is not enough. What we are witnessing is the territorialization of politics, only some of which stems from the monopolist tendencies inherent in African nationalism.

"All of us who live in Chesterville are ANC, 100 percent" says a friend of mine. "It's good that way - it means no fighting."

Sadly, you can see his point politically homogenized equals security and some prospect of improvement. Given current levels of insecurity, you can't blame people for choosing security over choice.

People who live in the nearby IFP-dominated Lindiwe say much the same, as do many of the residents of Cape Town's squatter fiddelons, and the residents of many a homeland.

This is the other, unmentioned side of the federalism debate. While the debate rages on over nine or 10 regions and what powers those regions should have, the reality on the ground is that South Africa is fast fragmenting into hundreds of micro-regions, often exercising powers far more tyrannical than anything mentioned in the federalism debate.

Getting from that to a democratic unitary state will mean short-term impossible just getting from there to a working federal state will tax all our resources.

* R W Johnson is a Rhodes Scholar and Oxford don, currently on sabbatical at the University of Natal.
NO-GO AREAS ABOUND AS MICRO-REGIONS MUSHROOM

R W Johnson examines the issues behind the homeward marches
Tutu: Govts' right to defend overthrow

MMABATHO. — Governments had the right to refuse mass action where the express purpose of the participants was to overthrow the constituted authority. Archbishop Desmond Tutu was quoted as saying yesterday.

He was quoted in a statement released by the Information Service of Bophuthatswana after a meeting with President Lucas Mangope.

Archbishop Tutu was quoted as saying mass action aimed at underscoring the lack of free political activity, where the participants abided by the laws of the country and which remained disciplined and non-violent, should be tolerated.

He said the ongoing violence was causing all right-thinking South Africans considerable concern.
Pressing on towards peace

IN SOUTH Africa, negotiation is still the chosen route towards majority government. Scores of people are being murdered every day. For many blacks, the biggest question is whether they will make it through the night. They are not very interested in constitutional settlements. But talking, as F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela are still striving to show, continues to be the preferred way of doing business.

Moreover, the main parties seem to agree on many things. They all accept universal sufrage. They all want election by proportional representation. They all say that regional power will be essential to both the curbing and the viability of the central government. They all loudly believe in the importance of a Bill of Rights as the crucial unifying guarantee of the rule of law.

Nor is this like putting up their hands for motherhood. The two parties around which all this revolves have made concessions that are not always comfortable. De Klerk's National Party accepts that the horrendous thought of majority rule is the only way forward, and is whistling to keep its courage up with the line put forward by the irresistible foreign minister, Pik Botha, and others. As the new party boss in the Transvaal, Botha boasts that the Nats will actually win the first election with black voters, which ought to take place some time in the next 18 months.

The ANC's most viable concession is of a different order. It is intellectual. Since I was here in 1990, the leadership has acquired a clearer grasp on economic reality. They understand that foreign investment must be lured here, and that socialistic nationalisation can no longer coexist with it. They also see that time is running out. The how and the how-much of economic redistribution, an absolutely unavoidable component, are impossible to promise. The militant ideologists who fuse Mandela into one side do not recall from a scorching earth outcome. But after they overplayed their hand at Bisho and were accessories to a massacre, the realists began the process that took them back towards the conference table.

A deeper reality conduces that way, sooner or later. For everyone knows, do they not, that there is no other way? The Nats see it as their only hope. Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki, the two ablest men around Mandela, utterly understand it. What is more, it is expected in the streets. Many blacks think a new life beckons. The white business community, small or large, talks with the blind fatalism common to business people everywhere. Things should be all right, they tend to say, when these politicians have got themselves sorted out. This is a developed country, whose future cries out for a rational deal. It's also an underdeveloped country with the same irrefutable need. The skyscrapers and the shanty-towns equally proclaim that the politicians cannot fail.

Their task, however, is a challenge more than rationality. Although the negotiating machine stops and starts, it is driven forward by these compelling realities. Yet behind them are other realities which have the power to overwhelm the most rational and obvious compulsion.

For one thing, although the consensus

'This is a developed country, whose future cries out for a rational deal'

sounds grand and is in historic terms amazing, it masks large areas of dissent. There is not even the beginning of agreement on the following essentials: how and where to write the constitution, when and for what body to have the first election, of whom and for how long a transitional government should be composed, what are principles and what are details when it comes to writing a constitution, what sort of proportional voting would be sensible, what sort of rights a Bill of Rights should protect. This list could be extended by another hundred elementary item.

Perhaps most critically, the truly federal government the whites now regard as vital to their power-sharing ambitions is far removed from the merely regional government the ANC is prepared to settle for.

They are at the very start, in other words, of a process which, perhaps because it began by engaging hundreds of people and many fragmentary interest groups, has arrived at exceptionally few decisions. The formality of constitution-making is intertwined with an incessant power-struggle, the need to make compromises flawed by total uncertainty about the willingness of those no longer at the table to accept them. These, the excluded parties to the deal, have a vile reputation.

This is no doubt another necessary part of the process. If Afrikaner Conservatism and Zulu separatism had had to be accommodated before de Klerk and Mandela got to work, nothing whatever would have happened. Their power of veto is relegated to the back of the negotiators' minds for this again would impede all progress if anyone paid it too much attention.

Yet the veto, on peace if not on a deal, emphatically exists. Chief Buthelezi may be a discredited figure, but he has a few legions behind him, all aware — such is the OPTION of the ANC into the fashion of the moment that if a deal is done and Inkatha Zulus seldom gets a fraction of the attention the national media give to deals among the ANC. The Conservative Afrikaner, excepting the wild men already running their own militias, is a voice that has yet to be heard. He waits and watches. People say he will never sacrifice his BMW for the impoverished white sub-state of which he seems to be dreaming. He is unlikely to be put to this test, because the idea is outlandish. But the Afrikaner is born to fight, and we haven't seen him fighting yet.

Nor can anyone imagine he will be alone. Another note the negotiators have no space for is a note of caution. They have bound themselves to the only wheel that destiny allows them, which is supposed to be progressing, as far as most blacks are concerned, towards the promised land. But generations will live and die before it gets there: an obvious platitude, yet one that the charismatic liberator at their head, perhaps understandably, does not choose to emphasise. Especially as the ANC comes to power, the fury as expectations are not met is bound to be horrific. The Bill of Rights may be essential. All the parties say as much. But it is hardly a sufficient bulwark against the cruelty of the outlaw which can be sensed a millimetre below the skin of this society.

What's happening here is an attempt to meet peacefully a price that history is exacting. It is a valiant effort. Men of intelligence and belated goodwill have seen what they must do, and have bent themselves to the task. It is to be said they must succeed. Of course they must. But the enterprise is asking more of history's victims than they have paid in any other country, and more of history's winners than they have ever been known willingly to offer up.
There are extremely disquieting elements in the deal struck by F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela at the weekend. The release from prison of Robert McBride and Barend Strydom is bad enough — an obscenity which the nation is supposed to swallow for the sake of a pious reconciliation which is far from happening.

But again — as we suggested last week — one is struck by how quickly our leaders are moving away from genuine democracy. There is nothing propitious in this release for our future freedom, happiness and security. The entire affair was stage-managed to precede yet another of Mandela’s foreign fund-raising jaunts and almost immediately contradictions emerged.

Let’s consider some.

Now that they have been forgiven for their murders, McBride and Strydom — both young men — have been received back into their markedly segregated and mutually hostile communities. Neither has shown any remorse; rather, they have been glowing with an idiotic triumphalism and McBride has said he would be prepared to “do it again” (blow up civilians) in the same circumstances as 1985. This so that “peace and democracy” will prevail.

We do not yet know what Strydom thinks, since he has sold his story exclusively to Rapport. But clearly he, as much as McBride, is a hero to some.

The victims thus brushed aside, we are enjoined to consider the big picture — the national interest. These points arise:

□ Government has finally indicated that it will move on certain glaring catalysts of violence, specifically the carrying of weapons of death in public and the monitoring of volatile hostels. These matters, one would have thought, should have long since been dealt with firmly — before Boipatong. The suspicion exists that they were left unattended for so long not because their potential for violence was unknown, but because they became chips in a bargaining process.

The cost of such neglect has been many deaths. In addition, there is the alienation of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who now seeks an alliance with the likes of Oupa Gqozo.

□ The ANC can with some justification claim that mass action has worked — it brought government to the point where it had to act on public weapons and hostels as a kind of concession.

This supports the suspicion that government has all along had a hidden agenda in negotiation which, at the least, it backed with a dangerous tolerance of black-on-black vio-

lence. Yet, in employing the means of mass action to achieve this end, the ANC has shown itself prepared to sacrifice ruthlessly its followers for propaganda. They dutifully went straight into the death trap at Bisho.

□ The issue of amnesty for “political” crimes is far from being settled. In any comparison of psychopaths, the ANC can presumably claim that McBride believed that killing three women in Magoo’s Bar was a blow for freedom and democracy but that Strydom is in a different category. There are already warnings that the ANC might rescind amnesty for the Wit Wolf — which defeats the purpose of whatever was actually agreed at the weekend.

Clearly McBride and Strydom were “swapped” for symbolic reasons, the essential understanding being that political deals transcend the rule of law. Both sides have thus laid the basis for continuous rule by expediency. Any government of “national unity” would be an uneasy — if not treacherous — coalition of political bosses continually looking over their shoulders at their constituencies.

And who exactly are the senior figures for whom government wants amnesty? How high up are they in the political and military hierarchy? De Klerk surely knows.

The extent to which justice has been subverted is emphasised by the behaviour of the Ministry of Law & Order — which abruptly suspended its well-publicised investigation of the crimes of returnees and security force agents. What only a week or so ago was said to be a matter of principle has been “temporarily postponed until such time as finality has been reached on this matter,” according to Craig Kotze.

In other words, such retrospective investigations can be turned on and off like a tap, depending on what suits government.

The De Klerk/Mandela summit was a turning point. Now we know that justice itself is a pawn in a far bigger political game. Buthelezi sees this well enough — and has the potential to wreck bilateral deals which exclude him. But in his new leopard-skin garb he appeals directly to tribal, sectional emotions and, in this, is also merely playing that bigger political game with its basis in raw power.

Who can doubt that government and the ANC will be back at Codesa, or its equivalent, within a few months? Their interests lie there. But with or without Buthelezi, scepticism over the validity of any agreements reached must be well-founded. Our two big leaders now have certain qualities in common: they are wooden, unconvincing and contradictory.
LEADING ARTICLES

THE PEACE PROCESS 210/912

In the year of the axe (274)

The principles of the Peace Accord still stand despite massacre and gloom

Trust Mngosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu The (qualified) good news of last weekend's summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela clearing the way for a return to Codesa-style talks had hardly sunk in when the Inkatha chief angrily announced his rejection of it. Petulantly, he cancelled further talks with government.

Obviously, the hope is that the KwaZulu leader can be mollified. But his precipitate reaction—and the potential it has for feeding the violence—illustrates the kind of difficulties SA faces in its painful transition to relative peace and democracy.

The trigger-points of poverty, heightened political expectations and ethnic rivalry are so deeply entrenched in our social fabric that outbursts of violence must be expected until our peoples come to love each other. Meanwhile, as the transition proceeds, our leaders can be expected to display a certain ruthlessness and impetuosity when it comes to their survival. Power and influence are at stake.

Politicians may be expected to behave in this way—though they are not supposed to. In fact, they are frequently in contravention of the lofty undertakings of political tolerance contained in the National Peace Accord. The accord was signed just over a year ago—yet the death toll from political violence seems unabated. The leaders’ bellicosity surely contributes to that.

The violence certainly will not end soon—and may not even abate to tolerable levels before an interim government of national unity is established.

Yet this prospect, like Buthelezi’s rhetoric of civil war and his withdrawal from talks, should be kept in perspective. Perspective is a favourite word of John Hall—chairman of the National Peace Committee of the accord—who detailed to the FM exactly what is being done about the violence. His views provide a powerful antidote to excessive dependancy.

Hall says: “Eighty percent of our country is at peace—we kill more people on the roads every day than we do in violence. Criminal acts are responsible for more deaths than political violence. Our industries operate, we’ve got good working relationships with the trade unions; it could be a hell of a lot worse, the violence is not high-key.”

Compared to examples of transition in many other countries, we don’t look nearly as bad as it sometimes feels. That’s not to deny the dangers inherent in a climate of violence—especially its malign effect on the economy which, undermined, only further nourishes the violence.

But how can conflict be contained, if not ended? According to Hall, “it’s the will of the political leaders to bring peace to this country that will bring peace, not the Peace Accord.”

While all the political leaders remain committed to the Peace Accord, he explains, the problem is that on various levels there’s no guarantee that commitment is transmitted down the line. He identifies four such levels.

Firstly, there is the leadership level, at which Codesa was negotiated with tolerance and all those good things like democracy and freedom of speech in mind. But when you go down to the second level—which is that of the management of executive decisions—you find various people who have probably got different and sometimes conflicting agendas. Those are linked up with the third level, the community—and every community in SA is different.

The fourth “subterranean” level is where dirty tricks operate and they do so in the SADF, SAP, Umlhonto wo Sizwe, the KwaZulu Police and so on. All contain bad elements. It is of course quite conceivable that people on level one have no idea of what’s going on at level four; and that people at level two also may or may not know what is going on. “So when you ask,” says Hall, “do the political leaders honour the accord?” the answer is that the political parties and their supporters quite often honour the accord in the breach—that I would have to point a finger at any specific individual.”

The Peace Accord has created a network of people throughout SA at national, regional and local level who know each other across the full spectrum of political activities. Hall says: “This is of tremendous value in defusing violence,” as the accord has done in a number of sadly unpublicised cases. Without this network, with its independent chairmen, we would have had “mini-civil wars” all over SA, in his opinion.

“The accord probably keeps violence, instead of at a level of 100, down to 50 or 60. That’s bad enough. The international observers might take it down to 30 or 40.”

An example of what happens when the accord breaks down is the massacre at Bishop, where Hall was present. The ANC—having decided to press on into the capital—did not bother to stop and talk to Hall and others of the Peace Committee who were on the spot and who could at least have tried to negotiate an alternative to piercing the barrier. The outcome was tragedy.

The accord’s secretariat, after a year’s operation, has branches throughout the country, they obviously do not function perfectly, but are daily making headway. “At local level,” Hall says, “if you’ve got the communities getting their act together, re-building their mini-economies, then you are actually getting people to understand the democratic art of the possible at community level. They are problem-solving through collective wisdom.”

That is the magic of the Peace Accord. And while it’s at the top level that people are getting their acts together, you’re going to get a trickle-down, trickle-up effect.
Peace Accord has put those structures in place to make that happen."

What then is required for a broad culture of tolerance? "A commitment to democracy," says Hall, who is well aware that "if people still have a winner-takes-all view of this country and still have political agendas which are not democratically orientated, do we have to wait until we get to a zero-sum game before we start moving in the right direction? I don't believe we're at that point. I think the leaders have virtually got to throw themselves on the mercy of democratic principles and face up to being elected, or not elected. They say that, don't they?"

Of course, there's always a fine line between contravention of the accord and robust politics. Hall's feeling over Buthelezi's comment about "buggering up" the ANC, is to give the Zulu leader the benefit of the doubt. However, in current circumstances, "I would think both the march itself and the responses have all the ingredients for another Bisho and that the political leaders have really got to seek an alternative. How dare they actually take a risk of bloodshed when it is so clearly on the cards? They should find another form of protest."

The Peace Accord says that protest action is legitimate. But building up a spirit of political tolerance is equally essential to freedom of speech and action. To this end, the Peace Committee hopes to host a conference of leaders on the matter within the next week. Hall has sent out letters asking for all marches to be halted until that conference has been held. This will be a test of the durability of the accord.

There are five resolutions on the agenda, which, while they have all been approved in principle by "everybody," await ratification: □ A reconfirmation of commitment to political tolerance;
□ The appointment of ombudsmen at regional and local level — senior political figures who can call on their followers to behave. This should carry the commitment to tolerance down to grassroots level;
□ Barriers on reconstruction and development funding should be lifted. This sanction has prevented aid from flowing into strife-torn areas;
□ The police should be welcomed back into the communities as respected law maintainers; and
□ Greater use can be made of the various monitors and observers — local and international — to give effect to the resolutions.

In the end, political tolerance itself will have to be framed into some accord which will function against clandestine activities and unfair play, Hall says. This could then be monitored by the UN observers, who, he believes, are really only buying time while the national politicians get their act together.

If there is a common binding factor in SA that could form the basis of peaceful coexistence, it would seem to be a clear understanding by our leaders that the only thing that can deliver and improve quality of life is a healthy economy. Hall believes that if the will of the leaders to enforce political tolerance becomes a reality, an interim government is probably only months away. "But until they take that step, one doesn't know what the future holds. The economy can't carry on any further. That's common cause.

We can't go on for a year or more in the economic doldrums; the downward spiral will become an accelerating vortex and we'll be in deep trouble."

What teeth does the accord have to enforce its noble injunctions? Only world and public opinion, Hall admits. He tells ambassadors to keep impressing on SA's leaders that they are the representatives of an exclusive club — nations committed to democracy, tolerance, negotiation and reconciliation. And the leaders who signed the Peace Accord qualify for membership of that club. "That's the teeth of the Peace Accord, in my view — not walking around with a baseball bat."

Hall uses another analogy — that of a trade union negotiation where deadlock has been reached, with one side's option being to strike, the other's to enforce a lock-out. "We slug it out until finally... we end up with the best we both can live with. It's what we're doing right now.

"Buthelezi wants federalism, the ANC wants central government with devolution of power. At the end of the exercise, people will get what they can get. You go through a series of zero-sum games all the time. That's the story of humanity, isn't it?"

This optimism — tempered with some fatalism — has carried Hall through the immensely difficult first year of the accord. He is a sincere and serious man. We need more like him.
The Marchers

On the Side of

By Anthony Rhodes

This week's Goodridge
THERE are some arresting parallels between the political transformation of Germany and that of SA, says former German Ambassador to SA Immo Stahreit.

"Both countries were divided to uphold a despised political system and both are now forced to confront the social and financial costs of reunification.

"The cost of absorbing 15-million former East Germans in a united Germany is blamed for retarding economic growth and contributing to Germany's high interest rates and the recent financial crisis in Europe.

"In SA's case, political transformation is impeded by three years of failing economic growth and escalating violence. For this reason, the major challenge facing SA is job creation," says Dr Stahreit, who left SA last month to assume his new post as Ambassador to Washington after 9½ years in SA.

"Violence is a consequence of several factors, but the most important of these is the lack of employment opportunities.

"Political violence could be stopped relatively easily. Criminal violence is not so easy to bring under control."

Dr Stahreit says: "SA is rich in leadership qualities. The problem is that people have been pitted against one another. If they could pull together, SA would be unstoppable.

"But it would be naive to think that SA's problems will be solved overnight."

Dr Stahreit arrived here in the dying years of apartheid to witness the birth of the new SA. Germany's relations with SA ranged from being cordial to decidedly frosty—particularly under the reign of former President PW Botha.

He is succeeded as ambassador by Dr Hans-Christian Ueberschaer."
Negotiations could not continue until the ANC's "ruthless army" — Umkhonto we Sizwe — was disbanded, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at a Shaka Day celebration in KwaMsane outside Mtubatuba, Chief Buthelezi said that as long as MK continued to exist, the IFP and the KwaZulu government would not return to negotiations.

He accused the ANC-led tripartite alliance of orchestrating violence against IFP members, and Zulus in particular, and said "this anarchy, now reigning in some parts of the country" was a direct result of the ANC's previous campaigns to make South Africa ungovernable.

ANC spokesman Cyril Newsam yesterday said the organisation would not disband MK at this stage. He said MK was not operative and the armed struggle had been suspended.

MK is not a problem for the negotiations process and as far as violence is concerned. It sounds as if this is once again an excuse raised by Chief Buthelezi. Perhaps he does not want to return to negotiations and the consequences of full democracy," said Mr. Nieuhaus.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC's support in KwaZulu was negligible, and it was "unable to establish a foothold in our communities."

"Umkhonto has to go. There can be no negotiations at a national level while the ANC's army remains intact," he said.

"If it is to remain... after an interim government is established, either on its own or as part of the SADF, you can count me out of these agreements."

Chief Buthelezi's angry speech contrasted with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's weekend statement in which he expressed the hope that multilateral negotiations would resume before the end of the year.

In a speech at the University of Durban-Westville on Saturday, Mr. Ramaphosa also said he expected constitutional talks to be followed by elections for a constituent assembly next year.

Chief Buthelezi vehemently criticised ANC president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk yesterday, saying their September 26 "Record of Understanding" amounted to a declaration of war against the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the Zulu people.

He accused the Government of siding with the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance against the Zulus, and said the agreement to ban the carrying of "cultural weapons" was indicative of a plot "to culturally and ethnically castrate the Zulu people."

He said that by signing the "Record of Understanding" with Mr. Mandela, Mr. de Klerk knew that he would oppose it, and in so doing Mr. de Klerk had made a fundamental mistake that could lead to his isolation.

Chief Buthelezi said he did not understand why the Government continued to "fall all over itself to capitulate to the ANC-SACP alliance."
Hani 'yes' to homeland marches

CARLETONVILLE — SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani said yesterday the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance would continue with its planned marches on Ulundi and Bophuthatswana, in spite of warnings that this could lead to violence.

Speaking at a National Union of Mineworkers' health and safety rally at Carletonville, he said the presence of UN monitors and the National Peace Secretariat would help ensure the marches took place without violent incidents.

He added that the alliance was, in fact, at the receiving end of the violence and was not the cause of it.

On the recent release of prisoners, Mr Hani said criminals were taking advantage of the political-prisoner release programme. Although his organisation had campaigned for the release of genuine political prisoners, he could not understand why people such as Barend Strydom and Dube Gang member Lucky Malaza had been released.

Referring to negotiations, Mr Hani said they should be on track within a month. — Sapa.

Chris Hani ... monitors will prevent violence.
Schools empty despite guarantee of safety

HEIDELBERG — Few pupils attended school at Heidelberg’s Ratanda township, eastern Transvaal, yesterday despite a safety guarantee from UN observers, the local dispute resolution committee and police.

Witwatersrand/Vaal dispute resolution committee spokesman Ilena Tipl said schools in the township had been closed for at least two weeks because of violence.

SA Democratic Teachers’ Union spokesman Jabu Marwa said pupils had been physically molested, either at schools or while on their way to class.

He confirmed an increased police presence in the area, which was also being monitored by three UN observers and two dispute resolution committee representatives.

A man was stabbed to death in Ratanda by a group on Saturday, according to the police, who ordered a police report. On Saturday police found the bodies of four men in the area.

Police reported that one person was killed in a tavern in the Vaal Triangle early yesterday when three men opened fire with a 9mm pistol and an AK-47 rifle.

On Sunday night Dora Mose of Kagiso escaped injury when a Russian-made P1 hand grenade was lobbed into the lounge of her west Rand House. The explosion damaged property worth about R500.

A woman died and a man was seriously wounded when a group stoned them and set them alight at Bruntville, Natal.

Two burnt bodies were discovered at Darlington near Fort Beaufort in the eastern Cape.

The hacked and stabbed bodies of two men were found in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on Saturday. Police said the men had been killed in separate incidents.

Two hostel residents and a policeman were shot dead in separate incidents in KwaZulu at the weekend.

The policeman, Const. Mgwabi, was shot dead by unknown gunmen after an argument at his house in KwaMashu on Friday. Col. Moses Khanyile. His firearm was stolen.

In another incident on Friday, two men were shot dead by unknown gunmen in KwaMashu men’s hostel.

The killers fled with R62. — Sapa.
Weekend violence claims 10 lives

DURBAN. — An Inanda policeman was among 10 people who died in incidents of unrest over the weekend.

Constable S. Mgwenzi was shot dead by gunmen who went to his home in KwaMashu on Friday, demanding to talk to him. After an argument they shot him and stole his firearm.

Meanwhile, 25 people have been arrested in connection with the killing of nine IFP supporters in Gengeshe, Richmond, last Saturday.

In other incidents of unrest at the weekend:

- Ms Thembile Zulu was stoned, stabbed and necklaced, and Mr Robert Khumalo, 35, was seriously injured after a meeting of “White City” residents in Bruntville, Mooi River, on Sunday.
- Two men were killed in a KwaMashu hostel on Friday by gunmen who robbed them of R62 before fleeing.
- At Ratanda, Heidelberg, a man was stabbed to death by a group.
- Two burnt bodies were found at Fort Beaufort on Saturday.
- The bodies of two men whom had been hacked to death were found in Alexandra on Saturday. — Sapa; Own Correspondent.
Digging the White Man's Grave

It's hard to see any purpose in distastefulness by violence. Writers stand up from London

OPINION
Small business steering group

THED rawana

SUN CITY. A steering committee, which is to formulate a framework of policy affecting small business, has been established.

The Small Business Unity Workshop, held in Sun City yesterday, appointed the five-man committee comprising chairmen of the five workshops.

It is to co-ordinate the different small business committees nationwide to formulate a uniform policy.

The chairman is Potchefstroom University’s small business advisory bureau director Piet Moolman, Sunnyside Group chairman Keith Foster, Dick Robb of Barlow Rand who is chairman of Matchmaker Services, Willie Conradie of Volkskas Bank, and Phil Khumalo, Business Challenge CZ.

The workshops they headed were on training/consultation, deregulation, subcontracting/matchmaking, financing and marketing respectively.

The idea of such a committee came when Foster, giving his report on the deregulation workshop, told the meeting that not one party in all the main political players had a small business policy.

"If the situation is left the way it is, small business will always be neglected," Foster said.

"Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaf, who is entrusted with small business, is still finding his way working out a Cabinet view on small business."

He said the Sunnyside Group and Saob’s small business forum were working on merging into a single body and hoped to have the structure in place by the end of the year.

The steering committee would immediately get to work investigating the final structure, he said.

ANC president Nelson Mandela should meet police generals and tell them directly what his organisation expected of police, instead of simply criticising them from a great distance, says Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert.

Addressing an Idasa conference on policing in Vanderbijlpark yesterday, Slabbert said a new negotiating forum dealing with the role of the security forces and stability during the transition to democracy was urgently needed.

Slabbert said a future political accord would depend on "transitional stability" in the public service, including the police.

He warned political leaders that the public service could disintegrate, with grave consequences, if it was left without a sense of purpose while national negotiations were going on.

The public service had been "meticulously and systematically" built up to pursue the goals of apartheid. Now it was facing a crisis of legitimacy, he said.

Slabbert said he had always regarded Coesa as an inappropriate forum for negotiations because it had created the illusion that politicians could negotiate transition on their own.

He added that efforts by Finance Minister Derek Keys and Cosatu to establish an economic forum and the recently established housing forum, were places where "the most important bargaining is taking place".

"I think it is unreasonable to expect the police to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps.

"Like most of us, they were singularly unprepared for change," Slabbert said.

"Only five or six years ago it was seen as part of the training of police and soldiers that they had to eliminate the enemy," he said, adding that the same was true of the liberation movements.

Police consultant Kobus Neethling, who has addressed more than 15 000 policemen on ways of improving their creativity, said police needed new skills if changes in their values were to be effective.

He said police and community visions of SA needed to be aligned to truly address the accountability of the force.

Neethling said the majority of policemen he had spoken to wanted to continue with policing and had a "positive awareness" of their role.

Police needed to be caring, emotionally involved, vulnerable, empathetic, humanistic and intuitive to succeed in their work, he said.

Eastern Cape Council of Churches chairman Mcebisi Xundu said community organisations had shown they appreciated law and order by using marshals to control their protest marches.

He said chiefs and headmen needed to be elected by their communities to create confidence and increase the accountability of their policing activities in the rural areas.
new Strategic Policing Plan


Kiel accused of Whitewash Job
FW threat to stop homeland ANC marches

POLITICAL STAFF

East London — President F.W. de Klerk yesterday put himself on a collision course with the ANC by threatening to stop its marches on Umtata and Mthatha.

In a tough keynote address to the NP Cape congress, De Klerk said government was "duty bound" to prevent marches which could result in violence.

Responding to mounting unease and criticism of his leadership style from party ranks, De Klerk moved sharply to reassure the party faithful by launching a blistering attack on the ANC.

In particular, he lashed out at the ANC's revised position on mass action, dismissing it as "totally unsatisfactory" and warning that it should "stop the nonsense" as well as its underground activities.

The time had arrived for the real leaders of the ANC to stand up and discipline their regional leadership and "dissident radical elements."

De Klerk said it was "completely unacceptable" that parties involved in negotiations could threaten to topple from power those around the table.

South Africans could "rest assured" that government would take firm steps against actions that could lead to violence.

SAPA reports the ANC last night reacted angrily to De Klerk's attack.

The organisation said laws and conventions determined whether certain types of actions were acceptable or not. "It is not the government's political patel that determines what is acceptable and what is not. The ANC observes both the law and those conventions of its own volition, not because of threats from Mr. De Klerk."

It said phase four of its protest campaign would be reviewed now there had been movement on talks between itself and government.

See Page 5
Stop your nonsense, ANC told

...From Page 1... poses or under circumstances which can be expected to lead to violence. Should they take place, the Government is duty-bound to prevent such marches.

Macozoma told The Star last night: "It is to be expected that Mr de Klerk should sound this bellicose in the light of the rear guard action by the supporters of apartheid who met yesterday afternoon." (the meeting of homeland leaders and rightwingers).

The sad thing about Mr de Klerk's outburst against the ANC is that it shows his weakness as a political leader. He is unable to stand the pressure of reactionary forces when they confront him about decisions that will help advance a settlement."

The ANC rejected the threat to prohibit marches. "There are laws and conventions in South Africa that determine whether certain types of actions are acceptable or not."

In his speech De Klerk said the Government is undertaking to prohibit dangerous weapons in public and fenced hostels would have been taken even if talks had not been held with the ANC recently. The final responsibility for order lay with the Government. The options were to reintroduce a state of emergency, to ban people and to imprison them.

"But we say 'no' to that option because it is not in the national interest. It is not a sign of weakness to talk to your opponents ... I give the assurance that it is not our intention to exclude people in bilateral talks but to get everyone back to the negotiating table."

"Our responsibility as Government made it essential that we also get the ANC back to negotiations."

- The ANC's Western Cape region yesterday announced further protest action, including a march on Parliament.
- The Methodist Church of Southern Africa has appealed to the ANC alliance to call off its proposed marches on Umlundi and Mmabatho.
FW vows to halt marches

Stop your nonsense,

ANC told

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

EAST LONDON — In a broadside against the ANC, President de Klerk has vowed that he will not allow the organisation to proceed with any march which was unlawful or could be expected to lead to violence.

Stung by sharp criticism from within the National Party's own ranks that the Government was bow-towing to the ANC, De Klerk yesterday used the Cape NP congress as a platform for one of his toughest attacks yet.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said bluntly after the first day of the congress that the Government would not allow the Ulundi and Mmabatho marches to go ahead. He hoped the ANC would decide to call them off. If not, the Government would stop them, using security legislation.

In his speech De Klerk said the ANC "must stop their negligence. We respect them to stop underground activities. "South Africans are sick and tired of their inflammatory speeches and their arrogant intolereance of political opponents," he said.

"We cannot accept that any party involved in the negotiation process can say against a co-signatory of the peace accord, 'I am marching on you to topple you.'"

The aggressive speech prompted a sharp counterattack from the ANC, and the cordial relations achieved at last month's Government/ANC summit appeared to be under threat.

At the congress five demands were identified by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. Meyer said the Government had fulfilled its side of the bargain and it was now time for the ANC to reciprocate:

- Returning to multiparty negotiations.
- Reviewing its mass action programme.
- Playing an active role in ending violence.
- Ending the armed struggle and disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe.
- Ending political intolerance towards its opponents. Responding, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the organisation's national executive had already indicated its willingness to return to multiparty talks but believed that negotiations were best advanced at this stage in bilateral talks.

Macozoma said the ANC had undertaken to review mass action as progress was being made in breaking the negotiations deadlock.

"However, no climate of free political activity exists in a number of bantustans and mass action commensurate with the repression we experience is necessary. If Meyer does not like mass action his Government must ensure that a climate of free political activity exists." The ANC had for some time tried to end violence in the country and was the organisation which "sired" the National Peace Accord, Macozoma said.

The ANC would disband MK only once an interim government was installed.

At the congress De Klerk responded to criticism from delegates and from the NP mouthpiece Die Burger that the Government had given in too easily to the ANC.

Die Burger called for "strong and inspiring leadership" and De Klerk attempted to provide just that.

He said it was time for the ANC to stand up and discipline its members and to curb those acting against the peace accord. He had called for a meeting of all the peace accord signatories.

"In the meantime you may rest assured the Government will take firm steps on marches with unlawful pur-
Power struggle is the catalyst

Dr Andy's Truthnote explains what he believes is the root of the violence in SA
We cannot pretend that blame lies on one side only.

John Kane-Berman responds to critics of Dr. Antunea Jeffers report, "Disinformation about Violence in SA".
"GLASS palace" was John Vorster's scathing term for it. And as little as a year ago, the idea of involving the United Nations in solving South Africa's problems was unthinkable.

Yet by the time the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (Unomsa) set up office in Johannesburg last month, it blazed almost immediately into the South African political scenery.

"I think South Africans have adjusted exceptionally fast to the idea of transition towards a democratic society," said Angela King, chief of the mission, in an interview at her office in Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel.

"The reaction to our arrival has been warm and welcoming."

Jamaican-born King (54) moved into the Unomsa hot seat — her first UN post as a "field worker" — from a position as director of staff administration and training in the UN office for human resources management. Before that, she was director of recruitment and placing.

Why was a personnel manager chosen for a peacemaking job? "You'll have to ask (UN secretary general) Boutros Boutros-Ghali," she says, adding that effective use of people's skills is as crucial in human resources management as it is in a UN mission.

She bristles at the suggestion that the mission is a "second division team", raised upon South Africa because more seasoned observers were busy in other trouble spots. In part, the perception arose because of the mission's small size — 50, as compared with 800 in Yugoslavia.

"This is not a 'second eleven'. We have a clear mandate from the Security Council. The numbers of the force and the nature of their deployment were left very much to the discretion of the secretary general."

"The original team in Yugoslavia was 30-strong. UN people also went to Namibia in phases. They started with probably 150, and then as they established themselves on the ground it went wider. By the time of the election it was 800."

King stressed that the size of the mission was linked to requirements on the ground. In Namibia, for instance, the UN was involved in anything from setting up electoral districts to training workshops on how to run an election. In Cambodia, the UN was asked to move into virtually every government department and get the country running again.

The UN and the Security Council looked very carefully at the African National Congress' demand for 400 monitors, King said. It decided that because of the sophistication of the peace infrastructure in South Africa, observers, not monitors, were appropriate.

attention it needs.

So far 23 observers have arrived in the country, with a total force of 50 expected to be in place by the end of the month. A third of the Unomsa team was expected to arrive from Angola with the conclusion of that country's first democratic elections. With uncertainty surrounding Unita's response to the results, a delay is inevitable.

"It would be naive to say that those conflicts have not affected our mission," says King.

"But any UN mission would be affected. They are all equally affected by very severe cash-flow problems in the UN."

King is aware of suspicion of Unomsa in some anti-government circles, based on a perception that it works hand-in-glove with the authorities. There has also been criticism of the UN allowing the security forces to provide them with transport in certain cases.

"We've been at pains to be in touch with all parties involved in the NPA," she explains.

"We have had offers of assistance not only from the government but also from the major parties concerned, for transport, arranging meetings, and so on. But we have for the most part been relying on the National Peace Secretariat."

"If a local dispute resolution committee chairperson drives ahead to show the way, in some areas this may translate into a police escort. That is co-operating with the dispute resolution committee — we don't see it in any way as co-operating too closely with the police."

Unomsa's assertion of its neutrality ranged from the liberal use of UN flags and stickers on cars to its refusal to go on platforms that were not part of NPA structures.

The NPA has itself been under fire, however, for being tied to its signatories and not having a life of its own. But rather than undermine the role of Unomsa, says King, this makes it more vital. The Security Council resolution (number 772) that created Unomsa specifically requires the mission to "strengthen and reinforce the indigenous mechanisms set up under the National Peace Accord, so as to enhance their capacity in the building of peace".

South Africa's network of peace structures, says King, in fact offers tremendous hope for the future, because "so much work went into thinking out the structures — the UN did not have to amend the structures, and were able to leave the political process to the South African signatories".

"The real role of Unomsa, in short, is not to tell South Africans what to do."

"We are here to try and help, by our presence, to defuse tensions which may prevent the transition to democracy. The structures are there and the means are there for it to happen."

The United Nations mission in South Africa is seen as a 'second XI', reflecting the country's low international priority.

ARTHUR GOLDSUCK spoke to its Jamaican-born head, Angola King.

"In South Africa you have well-developed structures, you've got the National Peace Accord (NPA), you've had Codesa. We will liaise with these structures and report back to the secretary general on whether the UN mandate needs to be broadened.

"The decision was that the mission should be enlarged in a phased way rather than by pre-judging the situation. The Security Council did give the secretary general the authority to deploy any amount of people, and a total of 400 has not been ruled out."

The delay in the arrival of the full UN team has fuelled criticism that the demand for a UN presence in regional disputes around the world means it cannot give South Africa the
March on Bop town called off

‘Planning problems' and matter of organising it properly, the reason.

THE African National Congress has called off tomorrow's planned march on the Bophuthatswana capital of Mmabatho.

"It is not going to take place on Friday," ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

"There is a good probability, though, that it will take place at a later stage."

The reason for the cancellation was "a matter of organising it properly."

The ANC was committed in principle to continuing with mass action in both KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, as pledged earlier, Niehaus said.

At this stage the organisation could not give details as the campaigns were still under discussion.

The ANC gave an undertaking at the meeting on September 26 between its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and President FW de Klerk to review its mass action programme.

An ANC-led march on Ciskei on September 7 ended with the deaths of 29 people and with both sides blaming each other for the massacre.

Bophuthatswana warned the ANC on Tuesday the planned march on the homeland would lead to bloodshed. - Sapa.
36 dead in past week of political violence

THIRTY-six people died and 78 were injured in politically-motivated violence nationwide over the past week, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday.

The figure was considerably higher than last week's HRC reported statistics of 24 deaths and 108 injuries.

In Natal violence, 13 people were killed with no injuries reported, the HRC said. In the PWV area, the toll increased from five last week to nine this week, with four injuries.

The East Rand township of Ratanda, a flashpoint the previous week, showed a decrease with one person killed.

The HRC also noted that three policemen were killed and five injured in separate attacks in Natal and the eastern Cape.

During the past week the SAP had reported three deaths in custody — bringing the total this year to 106, the HRC said.

Yesterday one person was shot dead and another injured when a group of men climbed over a wall and fired shots at commuters at a taxi rank in Alexandra at 6.00am, Witwatersrand police reported. Police spotted the attackers but failed to catch them.

In a statement, Inkatha's Youth Brigade in Alexandra said the dead man was a Madala Hostel resident, and identified him as Mncingeni John Sithole, 35.

The IFP spokesman called on security forces to maintain a regular presence at the rank, especially during early mornings and late evenings.

Police said in their unrest report yesterday that five people were killed in politically-motivated violence around the country during the 24 hours ending at midnight on Tuesday. Two men were killed when gunmen armed with AK-47 rifles and 9mm pistols fired at a private vehicle in Sebenzisa, Vereeniging. At Alexandra near Sandton, a man was killed when a group attacked him with sharp objects.

At Mofolo, Soweto, police found the body of a man with stab wounds. Police also reported a man seriously wounded by gunfire at Mool River in Natal, the arrest of a man at Sharpeville after three men fired at police and a man injured after a police vehicle was stoned.

Meanwhile, SA Rail Commuter Corporation MD Wynand Burger said yesterday a train boycott was unwarranted in the light of the SARCC's serious efforts to produce a better and safer commuting environment.

Burger said the money lost during boycotts, strikes and stayaways — an estimated R23m in 1991/92 — could have been better spent curbing train violence and safeguarding stations.

A PAC plan to remove barbed wire around Phola Park squatter camp did not materialise yesterday.

Police erected the barrier in June after a number of clashes involving the camp, security forces and local hostel residents.

— Sapa.

Rhone-Poulenc faces police probe
ANC's Mmabatho march put on hold

The ANC has called off tomorrow’s planned march on the Bophuthatswana capital of Mmabatho. The organisation said the reason for the march not going ahead was “a matter of organisng it properly”, reports Sapa. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday that there was “a good probability it will take place at a later stage.”

The ANC was committed in principle to continuing with mass action in KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, as pledged earlier, Niehaus said.

Kathryn Strachan reports that ANC PWV region chairman, Ronnie Mamoepa said last night that a mass action committee had proposed the march take place this weekend, but the suggestion had been set aside by “the political structure”.

The action committee had now set Saturday October 24 as the new date for the march.

Our Durban correspondent reports that ANC officials in Natal have vowed to go ahead with the march on the KwaZulu capital of Umhlanga, despite President FW de Klerk’s threat this week to put a stop to activities which could provoke violence.

However, spokesman Dumisani Makhaya said other options were being considered in order for the ANC to make its point that it felt itself to be effectively banned north of the Tugela River.
PAC meeting Buthelezi to discuss the violence

By Kater Nyamunda
Political Reporter

The Pan African Congress will meet with KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi at Ulundi today to discuss violence and political tolerance, the PAC announced yesterday.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said the meeting — which comes two days after Buthelezi and his allies met in Johannesburg to discuss the ANC-Government's September 21 Record of Understanding — will also focus on recent political developments and "strategies towards the establishment of democracy" in the country.
Top firms swing a club for peace effort

A ROUND of golf for R23 000 sounds completely out of bounds, but there were takers when the corporate world realised proceeds would be used to promote the national peace accord.

More than R1m has already been pledged by the private sector for the celebrity golf round and banquet organised by the American Chamber of Commerce.

Politicians, top businessmen and journalists will be among those teeing-off at Royal Johannesburg, while leaders from all political parties have been invited to the banquet at the Carlton Ballroom, as have a number of UN violence monitors.

US ambassador Princeton Lyman will make his inaugural speech at the banquet. Tickets for the functions were sold for R23 000. Other companies made donations. The money will be used for peace accord negotiations focusing on diffusing violence. Among the dignitaries who will attend the banquet are national peace accord chairman John Hall, Finance Minister Derek Keys, and ANC vice-president Walter Sisulu.
Ramaphosa's restructuring plan

A RESTRUCTURING programme based on stability, growth and socio-economic development is needed to ensure the success of a democratic SA, says the ANC.

ANC economist Tito Mboweni, speaking on behalf of secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, said: "We are well aware we need to restructure the economy... within the context of the maintenance of macro-economic stability."

Public sector corporations should be rationalised, restructured and subject to competition. This did not spell out privatisation, but rather managerial accountability and transparent budgetary systems.

Reducing the size of the public sector would enhance efficiency and advance affirmative action while ensuring consumer protection and workers' rights.

Restructuring of the national budget by redirecting expenditure away from unproductive current expenditure and towards socio-political development, so as to bridge the racial welfare gap, was also called for.

The ANC stood firm on its policy of income redistribution, which would provide the means for mass consumption and alter the industrial sector's response to shifting demand patterns.

Redistribution of income at the low end of the scale might be an essential requirement for the growth of the labour intensive component of the manufacturing sector.

Department of Trade and Industry director-general Stef Naudé stressed the need for an export-led recovery, based on final manufactured goods.

"SA's future economic development depends largely on industrial growth, which will also have to be much more export-oriented to increase the import capacity of the economy," Naudé said.

DP launches campaign for election funds

THE DP has swung into election mode despite its leader Zach de Beer's criticism that it was the electioneering of the ANC and the NP that was preventing a speedy negotiated settlement for SA.

At a media breakfast yesterday, de Beer launched a national fundraising campaign to collect R15m by the end of the year to help pay for a general election campaign.

Southern Transvaal regional fundraising co-ordinator Ronnie Naper said the party hoped to raise R4m in this region alone. Whereas the DP had previously fought elections in chosen constituencies, the upcoming general election would involve proportional representation from a national electorate, which meant it had to canvass and fight for support at grassroots community levels, said De Beer.

The DP was expecting to win 10% of the national vote in an election.

Political deal needed for investment

THERE was an urgent need for a political settlement because, while it would not stop the ANC and Inkatha fighting, it would bring the stability to stimulate investment, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Speaking at the blueprint conference, he argued that this settlement would have to contribute to the demise of a third force.

Persistent violence was the single most discouraging factor for investment. It would be a negative factor even if there was political stability and the causes of the violence were fully understood.

De Beer said that if some of the violence was designed to prevent a political settlement, then the need for the settlement was more urgent.

However, there was no certainty that it would stop the fighting between the ANC and Inkatha, he said. "After all, both organisations are parties to the peace accord and to the Code of Declaration of Intent, and that has not helped."

De Beer said it appeared that the leaders of these two organisations had limited control over their followers.

Governments and political organisations would in the future be judged by their ability to deliver economic prosperity.

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Offer and general meeting results

ARSA Merchant Bank is authorised to announce the
DURBAN. — Eight people were killed in countrywide unrest on Thursday.

At least four people died in KwaZulu, police reported.

KwaZulu Police spokesman Sergeant L M Mnguni said two people were shot dead in the Nkandla area of Nkandla.

The body of a man who had been shot was found in T Section in Umlazi.

The body of a security guard was found in KwaMashu on Thursday. He had been shot.

Police seized more than 5 500 illegal firearms and uncovered an additional 23 arms caches between January 3 and September 24.

Four people were killed in unrest-related violence on the Witwatersrand on Thursday.

The planned return of 500 refugees to the Fedhoni township near Richmond has been delayed a week because a local chief was unable to attend a Regional Dispute Resolution Committee meeting scheduled for yesterday.
Rumblings within race institute over report

JO-ANNE COLLINGS
Weekend Argus Reporter

RESEARCH staff of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) have repudiated a recent report, published by the institute, which attacked research on political violence conducted by three high-profile human rights organisations.

Eight SAIRR researchers signed a memorandum, charging that the special research unit within their organisation, which produced the controversial report, was undermining "our image as an independent and objective research organisation".

They have demanded from SAIRR executive director John Kane-Berman increased consultation and a greater role in decision-making.

Although the signatories voiced concern about a number of the unit's reports, they singled out the report by Dr Anthea Jeffery, "Spotlight on disinformation about violence in South Africa", as particularly undermining the credibility of the SAIRR.

"We believe Dr Jeffery's work is partisan. We also found Press releases and presentations concerning the "Spotlight" to be provocative, arrogant and antagonistic," the memorandum read.

Kane-Berman defended the Jeffery report.

"All the criticisms of the report have been very carefully assessed and Dr Jeffery's conclusions have been powerfully vindicated every time," said Kane-Berman.

He argued that the reasons for the attacks on the report had less to do with its actual content than with the fact that the institute was challenging a "conventional wisdom" that violence should be blamed almost completely on the state and its perceived allies.

The signatories concluded that Jeffery could be criticised because, among other things, her arguments were "unsound and based on insufficient and unreliable information".

She made "damning judgments of Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission".
5 500 illegal firearms found

POLICE seized more than 5 000 illegal firearms and uncovered an additional 23 arms caches between January 3 and September 24.

Police said in a statement that 2'132 rifles and 3'383 handguns had been confiscated. Of those, 539 rifles and 790 handguns were recovered as a result of information received and with the cooperation of the public.

Nearly R400 000 was paid out to informants, with R186 000 of the reward money going for the recovery of 296 AK-47 rifles.

Three of the arms cache finds were the result of tip-offs and R10 000 was paid out.

Police appealed to the public to assist in tracing illegal firearms.

"In order to bring the violence to an end we once again appeal to all people to assist the SAP with any information that will bring those responsible to justice." The anonymity of all sources was guaranteed, the statement said.
Kane Berman
hits at critics

JOHANNESBURG — Critics of a recent South African Institute of Race Relations report on disinformation about violence in South Africa complained on Saturday that executive director Mr John Kane-Berman.

"Without exception, the criticisms have been very carefully assessed and Mr Jeffery's conclusions have been powerfully vindicated every time. None of the critics directed against her report from any quarter has any foundation," Mr Kane-Berman said in a statement.

He said the attacks were because the institute had challenged a number of strongly held conventional wisdoms.

"In fact, we have hit the bull's-eye in blowing away the smoke screen of disinformation. We have shown that while the state and the banned Freedom Party are to blame for violence, so are the African National Congress and its allies, a fact which others have too long tried to cover up or extenuate," he said.

He said it was precisely for that reason that some people were so angry with the SAIRR — Sopa.
Unrest: Six die, 10 injured

PRETORIA — Six people died and at least 10 were injured in unrest-related incidents yesterday and early today, police said.

At Tokosa in Alberton, gunmen firing from a vehicle killed four people and wounded seven, while in Alexandra on the Witwatersrand a man and a woman were shot dead.

Gunmen wounded a man at Wembezi, Estcourt, while there were explosions at homes in Ratanda, Heidelberg, and Khuma, Stilfontein, where two people were injured. — Sapa
Mass action 'making up minds'

President P.W. de Klerk said his government was beginning to feel the effects of mass action asANC campaign went into high gear.

He was speaking in a debate on mass action with journalist Steve Benson and HP Chief Information director Mr Piet Coetzer at VCT yesterday.

Coetzer had now mass action since January 5 as a lever.

"This was mass action at its best. Quite clearly the other side might try to hide the fact that it was mass action and our skilled negotiators would be discredited," he said.

Coetzer said mass action was necessary to keep negotiations going. But it was disruptive and threatening the rights of others, he said.

"We saw the disruption and violence. Mass action should be used sparingly," he said.

But in the aftermath of Bisho, mass action was associated with instability, disruption and a high risk of intolerance.

Mr. Benson said mass action was essential to bring democracy to all.

"We would like to see our people and the ANC government ready to bring peace and prosperity and who put them in power," he said.

Mr. Coetzer said mass action was necessary in negotiations were taking place.

"If the ANC was disruptive and threatening the rights of others, mass action should be used sparingly," he said.

But in the aftermath of Bisho, mass action was associated with instability, disruption and a high risk of intolerance.
Violence's tragic toll
Total for year 2762: Shift of focus from Rand to Natal noted

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG — A total of 279 people were killed in political violence in September, bringing the number of deaths for the year to 2762, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) has reported.

In its monthly report, the organisation said the death toll for September was significantly lower than that of August, when 544 lost their lives in political violence. It welcomed the fact that there were no death-squad related deaths last month.

The HRC said 99 people died in politically related violence in the PWV area alone last month; 37 and 193 people were killed in the region this year.

The HRC said 617 people were injured, bringing the total for the year to 2767.

For the second consecutive month, the number of deaths in Natal has exceeded the number of deaths in the PWV region.

"The number of deaths in Natal (105) has exceeded the number in the PWV and accounts for 45 percent of the country's total. This confirms our concern that the focus of the political violence is shifting back to Natal," said the HRC.

It welcomed the decrease in vigilante-related activity, which was responsible for 129 deaths, saying this figure was the lowest recorded since January.

But security forces were responsible for the highest number of deaths so far this year. It said 31 deaths had resulted from security force action — with the Bophelo massacre accounting for 28 of these.
“Phew!”
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ANC ponders Bisho march

ANC Border spokesman Mcebisi Bata said yesterday the march was being considered because of repression being conducted by the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF).

But the CDF said this week more than 70 attacks on soldiers and supporters of the ruling African National Congress (ANC) had been recorded since the September 17 massacre.

Bata said a private firm — Peaceforce Security — was training recruits who were taking action against the ANC "under the guise of being security guards".

Well placed sources have claimed Peaceforce Security is being paid a large sum by the Ciskei government to put recruits through a three-week "kis-konstabyl course".

CNA
years and older. About 25% live in region E, 21% in region H, 15% in region G (northern Transvaal and Venda) and 14% in region D; and

Zulus form the largest ethnic group (3.8m), followed by Xhosas (3.5m), North Sothos (1.7m) and Tswanas (1.6m).

There remains, of course, a numerical correlation between ethnic groups and the regions in which the ethnically based homelands are located. For example, about 78% of Zulus live in region E, which includes KwaZulu. More than half the Xhosas are in region D — Ciskei and most of Transkei.

Almost 69% of North Sothos are in region G (which includes Lebowa) and about 37% of Tswanas are resident in regions B, H and J (in which the largest part of Bophuthatswana is located). The same is noticeable as far as the other ethnic groups are concerned, says the Development Bank.

According to the leaked ANC report, it seems the organisation expects to win 50% of the total vote, with the support of 68% of blacks, 3% of whites, 20% of coloureds and 30% of the Indian vote.

This ties in with an assessment made by the HSRC's Lawrence Schlemmer. Referring to the findings of more than 20 opinion surveys, which included rural polls, he puts the ANC's expected share of the total vote at between 45% and 50%; the NP at 25%-30%; and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party at 10%-12%. Smaller parties such as the DP, CP and PAC get the balance and could, therefore, be well-placed to barter and engineer alliances.

These figures suggest that, if the ANC were to get 50% and the NP and Inkatha their lower estimates, the ANC is unlikely to enjoy a two-thirds majority even if all the smaller parties back it.

Government Ministers like Pik Botha (who, as Transvaal NP leader, is spearheading a recruitment drive in black townships) have said that the NP aims to be the biggest party. This is not regarded as likely — but it is not impossible either, particularly if the ANC alliance becomes fragile or hijacked by its communist radicals.

As second prize, however, the NP, alone or with allies, has set itself another very important goal, says SA Foundation researcher Ingrid Uys: to win at least one-third of the vote. That would enable the NP to share the task of writing a new constitution.

VIOLENCE — 1 FM 161 Of

In search of facts

Early in the Eighties, John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, inaugurated a difficult and controversial change in the institute's policy on publications. These would not in future present blacks as passive victims of apartheid but as active players on the political scene.

To that end the institute would run the risk of prosecution by quoting in its publica-

tions the statements of banned people. The change earned the publications enhanced international esteem from scholars who had long respected their accuracy and objectivity. But it meant that different criteria applied in evaluating these publications.

Institute researchers did not necessarily have a uniform political outlook. So, to maintain objectivity of institute publications, Kane-Berman had to find a magic formula. The direction he gave researchers was to "write about politically controversial matters in such a way that a reader will be unable to detect your personal viewpoint on politics."

Researchers' contributions to the Race Relations Survey carry no bylines; such anonymity was not afforded in the case of Anthea Jeffery's recent Spotlight on Disinformation about Violence in SA, also published by the institute. But a magic formula would hardly have been necessary for her.

She had a distinguished academic career at Wits, Cambridge and London; held senior positions at the University of Natal and Wits, before joining the staff of the Urban Foundation; after some years there she moved to her present position with the institute. Her entire career has been a training in objective and cautious expression, in regard to both matters of fact and opinion. She is manifestly not the kind of person who can be talked down.

In this work she sets out her reasons for finding that the International Committee of Jurists and other bodies have played down the ANC's role in political violence.

Some institute researchers and outside legal experts have branded Jeffery's work as clearly partisan. They say it has undermined the credibility of the institute as an independent research organisation.

Kane-Berman has replied that all the criticisms of Jeffery, including those of the researchers, have been carefully assessed and that her conclusions have been powerfully vindicated. He furthermore argues that the reasons for the attacks on the report had less to do with its content than with the institute's challenge to a "strongly held conventional wisdom that violence should be blamed almost completely on the State and its perceived allies."

If Kane-Berman's endorsement of Jeffery is right, the SA Police is working under a serious handicap. It is expected to be impecable in efforts to keep the peace while the ANC, its chief accuser, is engaging in activities which make the SAP's task one of the utmost difficulty.

The institute's basic conviction is that close and peaceful relations between all the inhabitants of SA are possible, and hence imperative. Since political violence threatens this conviction, it has a unique place in the institute's concerns. Those who kill or maim strike not only at the persons of their victims but at our precarious, fledgling body politic.

ANC ‘will keep meeting government’

GABORONE — The ANC was determined to continue bilateral meetings with Pretoria to find a solution to SA’s problems, ANC president Nelson Mandela told the OAU ad hoc committee meeting on southern Africa in Botswana’s capital yesterday.

Before meeting government the ANC would have talks with other “patriotic front” organisations to evolve a common position. Codesa would have to reconvene once the round of bilateral discussions was completed, paving the way for structuring an interim government.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu told the committee violence had not subsided in SA because the root causes had not been addressed adequately.

He accused the state of sponsoring violence through mercenaries from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia. “These mercenaries must be expelled under international supervision. Until this is done there will be no end to violence.”

The PAC was offering itself as a mediator because it desired to end the violence. It awaited a response from the ANC. In that spirit, the PAC had met Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and would meet government soon.

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim recommended that OAU observers be sent to SA to monitor the situation. — Sapa.

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Income Statement

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Combined units in issue

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Amnesty Bill likely to draw flak from all sides

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's controversial Amnesty Bill, which is to come before Parliament for discussion today, is expected to draw flak from most quarters.

De Klerk has several times in the past two weeks said he does not care about opposition to his unilateral going ahead with the legislation to grant amnesty to security and state officials.

The ANC alliance, the PAC, the DP and the Labour Party have all expressed opposition to the Bill.

The ANC rejected government's offer to delay the release of political prisoners for the general amnesty, insisting that only an interim government of national unity should be entitled to grant amnesty in a bid to forge reconciliation.

It insists that government cannot grant amnesty to its own members and has threatened to reverse the legislation later.

De Klerk, after meeting ANC president Nelson Mandela last month, said the legislation would be based on the same principles used in deciding on the release of the ANC's political prisoners.

The Bill would provide for full disclosure, to government, of the deeds for which the person was seeking amnesty.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the DP yesterday proposed that amnesty apply to political offenders only if there was full disclosure and following adjudication by a competent tribunal.

In an amnesty policy document released yesterday, the DP emphasises that no person should be allowed to escape disclosure and identification as a perpetrator of a political offence.

A general amnesty should not be pre-emptive of the process of reconciliation but should be a product of such a process, it says. "It is inapplicable and inappropriate that the present government should introduce or attempt to invoke amnesty proceedings. Accordingly amnesty legislation should be introduced by an interim government of national unity."

The DP document notes that every person seeking amnesty would have to be adjudicated by a competent tribunal which would investigate and report on the acts or omissions which led to the offence in respect of which amnesty was sought. "Any person who does not avail himself/ herself of the amnesty process and procedures will be liable to criminal prosecution for whatever acts or commissions he or she might be charged with."

The DP also proposes that amnesty legislation should make provision for the victims of serious offences and human rights abuses, to be given recognition symbolically and substantially "subject to the resources of the state."

UN 'will be impartial in SA'

WASHINGTON - The UN could no longer take sides in SA, a senior UN official told a conference in Washington yesterday sponsored by the pro-ANC Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law.

The UN had supported the ANC and PAC at a time when black South Africans could not speak for themselves, but that time had passed, said UN special political questions director Isham Omayyad.

He made it clear that the role of UN agencies like the Centre Against Apartheid, which earlier this week held a session in honour of SA political prisoners, was being downgraded.

In strong contrast, ANC constitutional expert Dullah Omar suggested that the liberation movements should continue to receive preferential treatment from the international community because they had a higher "moral claim" than government.

He was supported by journalist Allister Sparks, who attributed the root cause of violence in SA to efforts by elements in the security establishment to destabilise the ANC, with at least partial support from President F W de Klerk.

Omayyad headed the first team of 10 UN observers sent to SA to monitor mass action in early August, and accompanied special envoy Cyrus Vance and his deputy, Virendra Dayal, on their subsequent missions.

He said while the UN could act as a catalyst for constitutional negotiations, it "will not get directly in-
Kaunda will mediate
FORMER Zambian President
Kenneth Kaunda will arrive in South
Africa at the weekend to adjudicate
in a National Peace Committee dis-
pute between the ANC and the IFP.
- Sowetan Reporters and Supp
Top cops to monitor violence

From JOHN CAVILL

LONDON. — Some of the Commonwealth's most experienced police officers are among a team of observers which arrives in South Africa tomorrow as part of the international effort to help end political violence.

Members of the team will be stationed in the "epicentres of the violence", such as Pretoria, the Witwatersrand, Natal and KwaZulu, Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku said yesterday.

"They will remain as long as it will be helpful — up to three months, but the period will be reviewed," he said.

The team will co-operate with the UN observers already in SA. Led by lawyer and former Ghanaian judge Mr Austin Amisah, the team of 18 includes former Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Mr Robert Simmonds, former deputy commissioner Mr Henry Jensen, recently retired New Zealand assistant commissioner of police Mr Emmett Mitten, chief superintendent Mr Peter Stevens from Britain, and Malaysian police superintendent Mr Sulaiman bin Mahmud.
ANC 'forgot' peace hearing

JOHANNESBURG.—The National Peace Committee has accused the ANC of showing a blatant disregard for the Peace Accord by "forgetting" to attend a hearing to adjudicate on charges its Youth League had contravened the accord.

The Complaints Committee, at a hearing yesterday, found the ANC Youth League had transgressed provisions of the accord by calling President F.W. de Klerk a murderer at a gathering on July 15 in Cape Town.

According to a statement issued by the NPC yesterday night, the ANC said officials had "forgotten" to attend the hearing. — Sapa.
AN DEMOCRACY thrive in a country torn apart by political violence and a lack of tolerance of dissenting political opinions.

When the National Party came into power in 1948, it created a system which gave equality before the law and democracy to only a minority of South Africans — white citizens.

The majority of black South Africans were denied fundamental democratic rights, the most basic of these being the vote.

Even now the majority still has no power to decide who rules the country and what laws and policies the government makes.

Blacks were also denied the right to free political association — the right to form and belong to political organisations of their choice.

Attempts by blacks to do so was met with a barrage of legal and physical deterrents, which inevitably led to confrontation between the white establishment and extra-parliamentary political organisations.

The government's tradition of responding to opposition with coercive measures such as arrests, detentions, torture, banishment and killings has resulted in a culture of political violence stemming directly from political intolerance.

Confronted by this state violence, opposition political groupings were forced to mobilise under conditions of secrecy because of their illegality.

The need to organise in secrecy to minimise detection by the security forces included limiting the extent of participatory democracy at all levels within such organisations.

An offshoot of the restrictions on political literature and political debate, has been that the grassroots members of such organisations do not clearly understand concepts such as democracy and freedom of political association. It is at this grassroots level that intolerance of opposing viewpoints and political affiliation is most clearly seen.

It is also at this level that people have been most easily duped and misled by attempts to foment “black-on-black” violence.

A few strategic incidents of violence perpetrated by “unknown” gunmen has resulted in a spiral of violence in which members of extra-parliamentary organisations blame “the opposition” for violence affecting their members.

The organisations have tended to react punitively with yet more violence. Rather than serving as a deterrent, these retaliatory strikes have exacerbated the situation.
The Goldstone Cops
Police death toll at 90

By Themba Khumalo

At least 90 security force members have died and 137 have been wounded in various attacks on them by unknown people since May, the Human Rights Commission said in its September report.

These casualties resulted from 207 attacks on the security forces.

Although the HRC could not identify the assailants, Karl Zimbiri, a shadowy commander of the PAC's Azanian People's Army (Apla), has threatened to intensify attacks on security forces.

Responsibility

He has previously claimed responsibility for most of the attacks on policemen who were wounded in various incidents countrywide.

Recently the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union met Apla's high command in Harare where they signed an agreement which would exonerate Poporu members from future guerrilla attacks.

The HRC report further said for two consecutive months - August and September - Natal has topped the violence list, accounting for 45 percent of the country's total.

The report said deaths in the South Coast region dropped from 68 to 45.

The East Rand remained a flashpoint with 43 deaths in September while Vaal fatalities plummeted sharply in the same period. The death toll remained at 17 each in Alexandra and Soweto.

At least 11 deaths occurred in police cells in September, bringing the total death toll in police custody to 95 this year.

There were 300 prisoners - among them 6 political inmates - awaiting their fate on Death Row. Among them is Jerry Richardson who was convicted for killing Stompe Selpe, a 14-year-old activist, and Alex Seheri, an Umkhonto weSizwe cadre who was sentenced for murdering two Soweto residents in 1987.

The report said in September 21 percent of the victims were ANC supporters and 12 percent were IFP supporters or members. The hostels suffered only one death and no injured inmates.

While the first half of September saw a continuation of train attacks, no such incidents were recorded in the last week of the same month. However, since January, 21 women were killed in train attacks and 36 were injured. Three children died and 9 were injured, said the report.
MPLA gets tough over election result

LUANDA — Angola’s ruling MPLA party says it will not face a second electoral round for the presidency unless its former civil war foe Unita pledges to honour peace accords signed last year.

And shooting was reported in two Angolan cities on Saturday after final election results gave President Jose Eduardo dos Santos’ ruling party a victory but showed he and ex-rebel leader Jonas Savimbi must meet in a presidential runoff.

Hours after the results were announced, Unita soldiers fired on Dos Santos’ supporters in downtown Luanda, killing at least two people, police said. Unita officials said their men were fired on first by celebrating MPLA supporters.

Results were reported, but details were not immediately available.

Luanda police commander Gaspar da Silva, speaking on national television, said the situation was “relatively calm.”

But police reported some movement of Unita soldiers near the capital.

State news agency Angop also reported fighting between police and Unita members in Huambo, the central highland city 510km southeast of Luanda that Savimbi has turned into a stronghold since he left the capital days after the elections.

Angolan national television reported that Unita had taken several police officers hostage in a shootout in Huambo and blocked government buildings and main thoroughfares.

UN officials in Luanda said they had reports of violence in Huambo, but declined to give details. Later, Angolan media reported that UN envoys had met Unita leaders in an attempt to calm the situation.

The MPLA, getting tough after official results of the September 29-30 vote issued showed it the clear winner of the legislative poll and ahead in the presidency, said the figures indicated the legitimacy of its 17-year rule.

“This was a total victory for the MPLA,” said party Secretary General Marcelino Moco, as supporters poured precious champagne and danced in pick-up trucks racing through Luanda.

Unita had repeatedly delayed issuing the votes with unsubstantiated charges of fraud.

But the patience of MPLA leaders seemed to have snapped.

“The second round can only take place if certain conditions under the Bicam (May 1991) peace accord are observed,” MPLA Information Director Joao Lourenco told a news conference on Saturday night.

These included demilitarising Unita, accepting that central government take control of Unita-held areas and returning to the new national army Unita generals who left in protest at the vote.

Dos Santos and Savimbi are due to meet today for a summit arranged by mediators from SA.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha’s press secretary, Afie Marais said Botha was seriously considering returning to Luanda for the meeting after both leaders had requested his presence.

However, an OAU team has put off a visit to Angola where it was supposed to help persuade Savimbi to work with the government.

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said on Saturday night that the decision to postpone the mission’s visit had been taken after consultations with the Angolan government.

The UN, which has been overseeing the peace accord and transition to democracy, gave its blessing to the results and said there was no foundation to Savimbi’s claims of fraud and irregularities. — Sapa-afp.

TML looking at move from CBD

TIMES Media Limited had not yet decided whether to leave the Johannesburg CBD and was looking at sites west of its existing premises in Diagonal Street, MD David Kovarsky confirmed at the weekend.

“We are looking at sites both in Rosebank and to the west of our existing operation. We were considering the 15th Jan Smuts Avenue building in Rosebank but decided against this,” he said.

The group was examining the possibility of the Galleries site in Cradock Avenue which “looks quite attractive”, particularly regarding parking and access to shops, he said. If it remained in the CBD, the building would have to offer complete security and on-site parking for all staff.

“While a number of possibilities are being examined, management is aware that staff will still be subject to the crime problem outside the building,” he said.

While the group’s lease expired only in four years time, a decision on the move would probably be made in the next three months, Kovarsky said.

There is continued market speculation that the Argus Group is considering moving. CE Doug Band said yesterday no specific plans were under discussion but if it were offered a good price for its building, a move would be considered.

An informed source said yesterday the newspaper group was seriously looking at sites in Crown Mines, but Band said this was “a remote possibility.”

Top observer group arrives

GAVIN DU VENAGE

A GROUP of 18 Commonwealth observers, led by former Ghanaian Supreme Court Judge A Amisah, arrived in SA yesterday to monitor the violence situation.

The group was met at Jan Smuts airport by national peace secretariat chairman Antoine Gildenhuys and Deputy Justice and National Intelligence Service Minister Danie Schutte.

The group consists of members from legal, diplomatic, political and security backgrounds, among them the director of the Australian Institute of Criminology and a former commissioner of the Canadian Mounted Police.

Amisah said the group would assist the secretariat in monitoring violence, and would make its expertise available to the secretariat.

The group expected to stay for three months, and would meet various political leaders, and visit violence-hit areas.

However, any findings the group made would not be made public but conveyed directly to the secretariat, said Amisah.

He said if at the end of the day they had made a contribution to ending the violence, they would be very happy.
One dead, three hurt in unrest at weekend

PRETORIA. — At least one person was killed and three people were injured in unrest incidents reported by police in the 24 hours ending at midnight on Saturday.

At Crossroads, near Cape Town, a policeman was attacked by a mob and robbed of his firearm.

In Vosloorus, on the East Rand, police found the body of a man who had been shot.

In other incidents included in the official unrest report, two men were attacked and seriously wounded by a group armed with sharp instruments at the Germiston railway station and at the Denver hostel two men shot and wounded an inmate with home-made firearms.

ANC Youth League members, who were planning to burn three coffins apparently representing the bodies of President F W de Klerk, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, were on their way to the Diepkloof hall when the attacks occurred.
Observers arrive in SA

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of 18 Commonwealth observers, led by former Ghanain Supreme Court judge Mr A Amissah, arrived in South Africa yesterday to monitor violence.

The group consists of members from legal, diplomatic, political and security backgrounds, among them the Director of the Australian Institute of Criminology and a former Commissioner of the Canadian Mounted Police.

Mr Amissah said the group would make its expertise available to the NFS.

The group, which expects to stay for three months, will be meeting political leaders and visiting violence-hit areas.

Its findings would be conveyed directly to the NFS and would not be made public, Mr Amissah said, adding that if the group made a contribution to ending the violence, they would be very happy.

Schutte met the group at Jan Smuts Airport.

Own Correspondent

CHIANG MAI — Mr Anthony Watterson, Ms Diana Virs, Ms Annette Cowley and Mr Eric van Niekerk, bedecked in feathers and glitter, attended a black tie charity masked ball at the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront on Saturday night.

Picture: BENNY GOOL
ANC Love affair with MK fuels speculation, says Pienaar
Kaunda adjudicates on Mandela today

FORMER Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Judge G Kotzé are expected to decide today whether ANC president Nelson Mandela breached the national peace accord in his recent address to the UN Security Council. Picture: DIAN HENDLER

Mandela allegedly told the international body Inkatha was a government surrogate. A national peace committee spokesman said yesterday efforts by ANC and Inkatha lawyers to settle the dispute over the alleged transgression failed, and it had been decided that Kaunda and Kotzé would adjudicate after hearing both sides.

INKATHA vows to defy ban

INKATHA would continue defying the law banning weapons in public because it was unenforceable and a product of government and ANC condescension, Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said yesterday.

He was reacting to inquiries about why Inkatha ignored Witwatersrand Commissioner of Police Maj-Gen Gerrit Erasmus's ruling that marchers not carry weapons during a Johannesburg march on Saturday.

Felgate rejected the notion that the ruling was made in terms of a government notice of February 28 and not as a result of the summit between President

FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela last month.

Meanwhile, police opened a docket and indicted Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi might face charges, as he led the march.

However, spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said video footage taken during the march had to be studied before a decision would be handed to the Attorney-General for a decision on whether to prosecute.

Felgate said Buthelezi had not condoned the carrying of weapons but he would not, in principle, have called on the marchers to lay down their AK-47s, of which he said thousands stashed in arms caches, were the major cause of violence and killings, he insisted.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports three people were gunned down in Umbumbule township, another in KwaZulu near Empangeni and the fifth victim killed in KwaMakhatha, south of Durban.

The 18 deaths in Natal where more than 1,200 people have died so far this year, brought to at least 29 the number of people killed in unrest in the country over the weekend.

In the worst incident, eight people were killed early on Sunday at Umngaba by raiders wielding pangas and spears and firing home-made guns.
No finding on Mandela speech

JOHANNESBURG.—Former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda and Mr Justice G Kotze did not reach a decision yesterday on whether Mr Nelson Mandela violated the National Peace Accord in his speech to the UN in July. The two are now expected to reach a decision on Friday.

Inkatha claimed Mr Mandela had violated the accord by saying "the IFP has permitted itself to become an extension of the Pretoria regime."
ms • Buthelezi challenges Government

Buthelezi dares Kriel

— Claims that ANC-SACP alliance gets preferential treatment:

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dared the Government to charge him for leading a march defying the ban on the carrying of "traditional" weapons in public.

"Let Mr (Herne) Kriel charge me as Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. If convicted I'm prepared to go to jail."

Fontana

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"Call off ANC marches"

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela should call off the Ulundi and Mmabatho marches, which would be "reckless and provocative" in the present "unusual" climate, Dr Alex Boraine said yesterday.

Addressing a lunch meeting here, the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa said that while no one would dispute the right of any party to protest peacefully, the complexity of the ANC's programme of mass action was contributing to the unrest.

Dr Boraine also called on IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to overcome his "negative attitude" towards the bilateral talks between the government and the ANC.

"The alternative, namely an alliance with the Conservative Party and the right-wing, can only lead to a cul-de-sac which would cost him very heavily in potential support," he said.

Dr Boraine was scathing of all political leaders who, he said, were "betraying the hopes and aspirations of all South Africans" through their lack of statesmanship.

Dr Boraine predicted that a general election would be held "this time next year" and said the key players would be the National Party, IFP and ANC.
Low blows from the Left

An in-house attack on research into the causes of the violence by Anthea Jeffery, a special research consultant at the SA Institute of Race Relations, has demonstrated the deep ideological rift between liberals and ANC sympathisers which evidently exists within the organisation.

That the division is not confined to the research establishment but goes right to the top is evidenced by the recent resignation of the chairman of the executive committee, David Gevisser, who is also executive director of Boumat.

Gevisser declines to say more about the reasons for his resignation other than those already reported — that he had had differences of opinion with institute executive director John Kane-Berman. One theory is that he left because he did not want to be associated with actions by the institute which would have offended the ANC.

The institute has 12 full-time researchers and about 2,000 individual, institutional and corporate members. It was founded in 1929 and is the oldest anti-apartheid institution in the country. Its annual Race Relations Survey and other publications chronicle the evil effects of apartheid on all aspects of society. It is funded mostly by members’ subscriptions. Its bursary department also receives overseas funding.

The institute has in recent years established an especially high reputation for the integrity and academic quality of its research; for steadfast opposition to apartheid, even in the days when to oppose the NP government was often to risk arrest; and support of political and economic freedom.

This is to a great extent the personal achievement of John Kane-Berman, the executive director since 1983. Preservation of the institute as it stands is therefore an important goal.

The internal struggle at the institute hinges on the fulcrum of SA politics as a whole — whether SA is to achieve political pluralism and a functioning free-market economy, or succumb to self-righteous rule by a single party with a strong Marxist economic leaning, paying only lip service to individual freedom.

Political pluralism implies freedom of speech and acceptance of the basic principle that no single political grouping has a monopoly on wisdom and inherent righteousness.

Nor should it demand to be immune from criticism of its policies or actions, or insist on being unchallenged on any claim to be the one true representative movement.

It was in these respects that Jeffery sinned mightily against political correctness by asserting in print that several human rights organisations had in effect absolved the ANC and its allies of any blame for political violence. Jeffery’s criticisms were levelled in the institute publication Spotlight for October 1992.

Jeffery’s publication, Spotlight on Disinformation about Violence in SA, so angered ANC sympathisers within the institute that they leaked to the media a “critique” of 23 pages — a hit-picking document that failed to refute the objective evidence marshalled by Jeffery.

In reply to the leaked criticisms, Jeffery says she repudiates any suggestion that her Spotlight purports to defend, or exonerate from responsibility for political violence, Inkatha, the police or government. She adds that she criticised Amnesty International and the other bodies for making unsubstantiated accusations against Inkatha and the police, and for heavily downplaying the ANC alliance’s evident contribution to the violence.

The bodies indicted by Jeffery for what amounts to partisan analysis of SA affairs are Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission.

The academic credentials of Jeffery are considerable. She holds BA and LLB degrees from Wits (the latter cum laude). To these she has added an LLM from Cambridge and a PhD from London University. She is an advocate of the Supreme Court of SA and a solicitor of the Supreme Court of Judicature in England. She has served as a senior lecturer in law at Natal University, held a senior position with the Urban Foundation and consulted to the HSRC and the Legal Resources Centre.

Helen Suzman, president of the council of the institute, has been driven by this controversy to address a circular to members, stoutly defending Jeffery. Suzman says the Spotlight has been exposed precisely because it says the ANC and its allies must bear some responsibility for the violence.

This is a fact “which has been covered up or excused in many instances.” She fears this attack on the institute is “the first salvo in a campaign to subject our research on violence to some sort of thought control.”

Indeed, says Suzman, pressures for conformity to some sort of politically correct line are building up in many spheres. This is especially ominous as SA is emerging only now from the thought control the Nationalist government for so long sought to impose. She concludes: “The institute did not succumb then and will not do so now.”

It is vital for the business community — or those elements which see their future in a cosy relationship with the ANC — to realise that if SA ends up as a one-party state (notwithstanding the ANC’s current policy of approving political pluralism) that would be disastrous for business and investment.

Political freedom is not a luxury that can be dispensed with: along with the principle of private property, it is a vital condition for economic freedom. There is no point in appealing radicals in the hope of a favour. The SA Institute of Race Relations deserves the continued support of the business community, financially and morally, for the work it does, and in particular for its defence of intellectual freedom — without which other freedom is not possible.

Former De Beers and Anglo American chairman Harry Oppenheimer says: “The Institute has, over many years, been a major factor for liberalism in the best sense of that word, and this attitude has been maintained by Kane-Berman in a courageous manner. The institute has always been careful not to take a political line in support of any single party and Kane-Berman has continued this tradition.”

NEGOTIATIONS

Back on the road

A new negotiating strategy is being formulated by government, aimed at bolstering support for a government of national unity and entrenching the “bottom lines” set out by President F W de Klerk in parliament last week.

The plan is expected to include the formation of a high-level negotiating team of Cabinet Ministers and senior officials whose primary function will be to speed up progress towards the resumption of Codesa-style

CONTINUE ON
Repression gave a false sense of security

Kriel

LAW and Order Minister Hoosen Kriel told a Pretoria University audience last night that repressive laws in force before the start of government's reforms in February 1990 had created "a false sense of security".

Addressing an Institute of Strategic Studies function in Pretoria, he said that only a vibrant economy would bring relief from a soaring crime rate and political violence.

Before February 2 1990, political violence and the revolutionary onslaught could be fought by way of massive repression, a full state of emergency, preventative detention without trial, and curfews, Kriel said.

"But by forcefully keeping the lid on the pot we have simply veiled a very serious problem instead of solving it — in other words a false sense of security was created," he said.

He said the country faced conflict, mayhem and anarchy unless political and other role players joined forces to resolve the problem.

He stressed, however, that SA's economic problems were the biggest single factor in escalating crime. Seven out of every 10 crimes in 1991 were economically related.

Kriel said 1 855 people died in more than 7 500 incidents of political violence in the year to end-September.

He said intimidation was an alarming and integral part of the violence.

The laws against the handling and possession of firearms would be strengthened.

During 1991 police recovered 5 700 firearms, including 1 200 AK-47s. Between January and September this year, more than 5 500 illegal firearms and 23 arms caches were seized.

Kriel called upon the ANC to abandon its mass action campaign for the sake of "peace and stability".

He said inflammatory rhetoric and incitement in mass action was in blatant disregard of the peace accord.

He urged the signatories to the national peace accord to rededicate themselves to its provisions.

For the sake of peace, it was vital that all private armies including the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and paramilitary structures be disbanded immediately.

Kriel said it was possible the ANC could not control its cadres or arms.

Resistance had also gained momentum in far right circles.

Kriel said police manpower had more than doubled to 20 694, supplemented by 100 724 assistants.

Boesak: govt land sales must stop

Cape Town — People who lost their land in the western Cape through the Group Areas Act should put their claims for restoration now, ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak said yesterday.

"Illegal sales of state land must be stopped immediately," he said.

Boesak said government was selling off land as fast as it could that had been earmarked for resale to victims of the Group Areas Act.

"Of the 5 200 properties in state hands last year, only 3 200 remain. The current Rondevlei case is a clear example that illegal sales and corruption are taking place while the interests of those with legitimate claims are being sidelined and ignored," he said.

"We demand that the government take immediate steps to freeze all sales of state land and, furthermore, that it instructs the state departments concerned to write to all families whose land was removed under the Group Areas Act, informing them of their right to submit a claim for the return of the land," Boesak said.

He added that the ANC, in conjunction with other organisations, was considering launching a campaign to inform the public of its right to submit land claims.
‘Attacks could threaten peace in townships’

TYRONE SEALE
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE shooting and wounding of prominent ANC and Regional Dispute Resolution Committee member Mr Johnson Mpukumpa was part of a disturbing pattern that could wreck peace in the townships.

This is the view of ANC member and Independent MP Mr Jan van Eck, who says the incident is part of a sophisticated campaign against peacemakers.

Mr Mpukumpa is in Groote Schuur Hospital recovering from a wound in the left shoulder. He was shot with a 9mm weapon while driving through Nyanga about 8pm on Thursday by one of three men in a silver-grey Mazda 323.

Mr Van Eck said last night the campaign could at least be traced back to the gunning down on June 19 1991 of ANC activist Mr Mazwakhe “Pro” Jack near his Nyanga home.

He also cited the killing of Western Cape Civic Association chairman Mr Michael Mapongwana in Lansdowne Road, Philippi, on July 8 last year.

Mr Mapongwana was injured and his wife murdered in an attack on their Khayelitsha home on October 17 1990.

Another example of the bloody battle against anti-government activists in the townships, said Mr Van Eck, was the stabbing and robbery five weeks ago of ANC Western Cape executive and Regional Dispute Resolution Committee member Mr Vincent Diba near Crossroads.

Mr Van Eck said Mr Mpukumpa was one of the “best known and most important community figures in the Western Cape”.

He said it was not clear whether the attacks on community leaders could be directly attributed to elements implicated in squatter and taxi rivalries, but it was clear the attackers were progressively targeting senior civic leadership.

“People who unite people would seem to threaten the turf of people with vested interests,” he said.

Mr Mpukumpa had played a crucial role in setting up SA National Civic Organisation structures in the Western Cape and had been instrumental in securing peace between squatter leaders and civic organisations.

Mr Van Eck said: “These attacks can destabilise the Western Cape. If the leadership is eliminated or paralysed through fear of such attempts, the potential for peace is diminished.”

He said it was unlikely that activists would ask for police protection.
ANC to challenge ban in KwaZulu

Quepga breeders come to city

not pursued

Attackers:

Boarders, Kissing, was CGB project.
 Peace through justice and democracy

By Allan Boesak

24/10 - 28/10/92

The ANC is committed to peace and peaceful methods to resolve the conflicts resulting from apartheid and its aftermath. A peaceful society depends most importantly on the necessity for justice to be seen to be done when violence occurs.

The failure of the regime to address this question, which continues to bedevil the transitional process, lies at the root of many of the conflicts we are experiencing today.

The proper and effective administration of justice begins at the grassroots, with a police force committed to serve the public, to protect its victims and act against its transgressors.

That police force should thus be free of political and social bias or prejudice and should be trained and educated in the principles of what is and what is not permissible in a democratic society.

In order to achieve real and lasting peace in South Africa, it is also vitally important to address the question of the past — of the bitter legacy of apartheid and its many victims.

This is a major reason why the ANC has opposed the NP proposal for a general amnesty. For justice to be seen to be done, those who have committed crimes against human rights must be identified, investigated and publicly exposed.

Ultimately though, peace depends on democracy, and it is only where representative government exists, and where people are able to see real and effective alternatives to the use of violence to resolve the problems they experience in their daily lives that one can begin to lay a proper foundation for a peaceful society.
the path to peace

'Democratic state will bring the violence under control'

By Barney Desai

The horrifying violence in South Africa is a direct result of apartheid. We are also experiencing the legacy of the eighties, when rival groups fought violently for hegemonic reasons.

A third, and by far the most important cause of the violence that has taken such a terrible toll on our people, is the secret activities of the state security apparatus used to violently destabilise the liberation movements.

The PAC has little or no confidence in Commissions of Enquiry appointed by the regime. There have been 10 commissions of enquiry since January and not a single conviction has been secured to date!

Violence will not be brought under control until we have a democratic state which replaces the minority racist regime. The PAC has been in the forefront in calling for international involvement, both in respect of violence and the process of negotiations.

We need investigation, mediation, observation and neutral arbitration in this period of transition to democratic rule.

The PAC is minimally involved in violence but maximally concerned to establish peace amongst Africans. In this regard we have offered to act as a facilitator between the IFP and the ANC in order to bring peace between the principal parties involved in so much of the violent conflicts.

The IFP has accepted our offer and we await word from the ANC.
Spokespeople for the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the National Party and the Democratic Party give their views on what is needed to bring peace to South Africa:

'A spirit of tolerance'

By Colin Eglin

BEFORE any of the other important processes which would normalise our society can be set in motion, the DP views the achievement of peace as most critical.

The achievement of peace is a multi-faceted process, rather than a quick fix simple solution.

The first priority we identify is putting an end to violence. This will require all parties and organisations to reassess their attitudes, priorities and the behaviour of their own organisations in relation to violence.

Commitment from all Peace Accord signatories means a change in the nature of political campaigning, away from violence and coercion, towards tolerance and peaceful conduct.

Reconciliation between the ANC and the IFP is urgently required, which, if accompanied by sufficient understanding and tolerance, will enable their constituents to live in peace: It is also vital that the NP and ANC put their electioneering stances on hold and realise the urgency of putting multi-party negotiations back on track so that a political settlement can be attained as soon as possible.

The second priority is two-fold: firstly, even ahead of a political settlement, there is a need to get the economy, especially the job-creating part of the economy, moving again.

Every attempt should be made to get an accord on economic and job creation involving the business sector, labour and political leadership, because basic needs for all South Africans (housing, running water, food, electricity and security) will not be delivered until the economy has recovered.

Secondly, political parties must be made aware of the desperate state of the economy, so that their actions contribute towards the economy’s chances of recovery.

The third priority involves an attitude. The DP urges leaders to display a spirit of generosity towards those with whom they are negotiating and to show some faith in a better future.

Above all, leaders commited to a solution through negotiation must accept that negotiation involves compromise: not messy, unprincipled horse-trading, but realistic give and take based on an understanding of one another’s concerns and a genuine desire to make this country a better place for all South Africans.

South Africa is a richly diverse country and peace can only be achieved with the acceptance by every citizen of these differences, coupled with a respect for basic human rights.
PEACE is not going to fall into our laps — it needs the commitment of the nation and hard work by all to succeed. If we fail to achieve peace — and it is not impossible — every South African will lose. South Africa will be lost.

To succeed in our efforts for peace, the following priorities should be kept in mind:

- Ultimate peace without a political settlement involving the majority of South Africans is impossible. It is therefore of utmost importance to use all efforts to get back to multi-party negotiations and to move towards a representative government.
- The National Peace Accord is the best available vehicle towards peace. It should be fully utilised by all committed participants.
- Peace needs time to be achieved. There is no secret short cut to take. To condemn the peace accord after one year is absolute nonsense. It will take years to filter to all levels and corners of the country.
- Socio-economic restructuring is a vital ingredient for peace. Where it can be affected immediately, it should be done. Unfortunately, socio-economic reconstruction is sometimes delayed or prevented for petty political reasons.

Some people are afraid someone else might take the credit for upliftment. They have an interest in letting people suffer now, so that people vote for them under a new dispensation.
- It will not help the country if we keep turning our heads away from the most important cause of violence — the bitter feud between Inkatha and the ANC.

The country should demand they get together and, for the sake of all, stop killing each other. If they believe in peace and democracy, their leaders should have the guts to get together and find ways to stop the fighting.
- The government of the day has a responsibility to peace. We in the NP understand this and are committed to do our bit for the achievement of peace.
Keep peace alive

Hendrik van der Merwe

As chairperson of the Western Cape branch of SAIRR, he is facilitating in the war or words following criticism by SAIRR executive director Mr John Kame-Berman.

"In a violent, polarised society such as South Africa no-one is without bias, and we all have to make room for different approaches, to make way for understanding broader society," said Van der Merwe.

"We must encourage differences and contrasting interpretations, and be sympathetic to conflicting ideas, instead of attacking each other."

"We are, after all, in both the SAIRR and HRC part of the intelligentsia — we are academics, religious and community leaders — and we tend to flavour the underdog. We stood together during the apartheid era and tended not to criticise anti-apartheid groups.

"If it is natural, now that there has been a shift in power, for some to think that this is irreversible and they can now give the government some credit. Others, however, think that the government is still so completely in control that we have to close ranks and, if we allow too much dissent between the ranks, the process of change will be slowed down."

Van der Merwe believes there is merit in the arguments of both. The present government is run by people who will soon be in a minority in government, and will, if world history is anything to go by, be subject to some measure of oppression. It is "irresponsible", he says, to think those in the majority will, automatically, because they are somehow inherently more democratic than the present government, ensure we have a democratic government.

"I believe that we have to get rid of the present illegal and immoral government, but I am convinced that those who have formed the bulwark of criticism against this government do not seem to want to do the same for the new government, or those who will be in the new government."

On violence, he said it was unlikely this could be controlled until an interim government was in place.

"The present government is not able to control its opposition, with which it has no legitimacy, or its own forces, which it does not seem to have the will to control. Even if it had the will to control its own forces, it has no power to do so.

"But even with a negotiated settlement, there will be no overnight peace. There will still be right and left wing elements which cannot be disciplined or controlled by anyone. These will develop into a culture of their own and I foresee decades of violence ahead, both criminal and political."

Van der Merwe agrees the ANC must take some responsibility for this. By calling on its supporters to "make the country ungovernable", it has created cadres not subject to any discipline or control and who, in the present deteriorating economy, will go to any lengths to survive and make their views accepted.

"It is important for people to accept and understand that in a democracy you will have political opponents whom you can hate if need be. But they are not your enemies and you do not have to kill them," said Van der Merwe.
The toll of violence

FIGURES compiled by the Human Rights Commission provide a chilling, if admittedly incomplete view of the toll political violence has taken.

In its latest report on destabilisation, “Checkmate for Apartheid?”, the HRC estimates that between July 1990 and June 1992:

- Politically-related violence claimed the lives of 6,229 people. This works out to an average of 260 lives a month or 8,53 a day.
- At least 11,888 people were injured.
- Security forces were responsible for 352 deaths (5.7 percent), vigilantes for 5,060 (81.2 percent), hit squad attacks for 126 deaths (two percent) and right-wing attacks for 44 deaths (0.7 percent). It is clear vigilantes have been the “shock troops of community destabilisation”, said the HRC.
- A total of 2,008 deaths took place in Natal, 3,670 in the PWV region, 133 in the rest of the Transvaal, 64 in the Eastern Cape and Border, 143 in the Western Cape, 128 on the OPS and 79 in the homelands.
- There were 49 massacres in which 1,250 people died, or an average of 25 deaths a massacre. In 15 cases the toll was higher than 25.
- The victims have mainly been ordinary residents of black townships, who have died in train, bus and taxi attacks.
- Of those killed between July 1991 and June 1992, 234 were IFP/Inkatha members, 274 ANC members and 979 township residents. In the same period, 65 policemen were killed.

The HRC report identifies two centres of destabilisation playing a major role in this litany of death and destruction — the Nationalist government and its extensive security establishment and the KwaZulu government, both of which feel threatened by the liberation movements and want to disperse their support.

But, says the HRC, these forces are likely to be checkmated soon — hence the title of its new report. Their hopes of “an early collapse of the liberation movements’ negotiating strength in the face of severe destabilisation have not materialised, and (they) are now trapped into processes of which (they) are no longer masters”.

The violence is coming under scrutiny, not only of the Peace Accord mechanisms, but also of the international community.

In response to criticism that HRC is largely blind to political violence caused by ANC supporters, national director Ms Sadoom Sadik admits that HRC is partisan in terms of being an anti-apartheid organisation.

“However, we are meticulous in measuring the human rights record of the apartheid government against the standards of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and in reporting facts as accurately as we possibly can. Any future government will also be measured by the same standards and we presently do not ignore or overlook ANC-inspired violence.”

She personally does not believe that there is a deep-rooted culture of violence in South Africa, but that political violence is repeatedly imported into communities with a view to destabilising them.

The most vivid example of this is the violence that has suddenly sprung up in Soweto hostel in Atteridgeville, Pretoria. This hostel has long been an ANC stronghold and there have been no incidents of political violence there since 1990. On October 11, the IFP bussed people in to launch a branch at the hostel, and one person was killed and two injured. There are now fears that the hostel violence in the PWV area is spreading to Pretoria.
Sipping into anarchy

[Text visible on the page is not legible due to the quality of the image]
MORE people have
follows massacre

LOW-CIVIL WAR

CIVIL WAR 25/10/74
The Ulundi march or these alternatives!

WHILE debates are raging about the feasibility of an ANC march on Ulundi, there has emerged a school of thought not only cautioning against the march, but offering a thought-provoking alternative. Head of a march to unseat the KwaZulu government, University of Jandaland sociology lecturer and political analyst Prof Herbert Vilakazi suggests a huge rally encompassing all political and church organisations that boast African membership.

I am suggesting the staging of an event which should focus, mobilise, organise the attention and actions of our people similar to the manner in which the attention people was focussed on the release of Mandela," said Vilakazi.

Speaking at a Durban conference, Vilakazi said Mandela's release unified the oppressed people across the political spectrum as the ANC leader was seen as living proof of the black man's spiritual triumph over his oppressors.

Vilakazi wants his proposed rally be addressed by the ANC, Inkatha, Azapo, the Zulu king and prominent church leaders. It's aim will be to uphold the Africanness of the participants and unify them regardless of their political affiliations.

He said: "Negotiations will not succeed unless there is an end to violence. If Africans are divided and are at war, with which section shall whites make peace?"

Getting to the heart of what he believes to be the truth that has been ignored by political leaders, Vilakazi said: "The homelands are the key to the success of our liberation struggle. The homelands were created, the homelands weakened and crippled the freedom struggle, to divide us. And we fell into the trap."

Vilakazi's proposal is a follow-up to one he made in 1976, pleading with the leadership of then banned organisations including the ANC, PAC, Unity Movement and Black Consciousness.

In the '70s, Vilakazi wrote several analyses, cautioning the "liberation movement" against ostracising and adopting a confrontational attitude towards homelands.

Contrary to popular belief that homeland leaders have no following, Vilakazi said by ostracising these leaders, the liberation movement put a wedge between itself and ordinary people living in the rural areas.

He saw the Inkatha-PAC meeting in Ulundi early this month as laying the foundation for possible effective steps which could assist in unifying Africans and ending the violence.

He believes all the violence and confusion in local black politics stems from a "lack of original revolutionary theory" in the liberation movement:

"It was foolhardy," he said, "for the liberation movement to conceive of a patriotic front for the oppressed without homeland leaders."

In a similar Africanist vein, journalist-turned-communications worker for the Institute for Multi-party Democracy, Nomavenda Mathiane, said it was disturbing that all peace resolution committees are manned by non-Africans.

"The question that one is bound to ask is: why and since when have the Africans been compelled to appeal to others to solve the internal problem of inter-African violence?"

Like other speakers, Mathiane conceded that the violence was sponsored by the government who used other black people to perpetrate the killings.

"The final responsibility lies with the members of the African community who agree to be used against their own people."

"An undiluted African perspective to what is an African problem is needed if violence is to be combated," she said.

But southern Natal ANC regional executive committee member and lawyer Linda Zuma said the primary problem that should be addressed is the distortion of Zulu sentiments and traditions by the KwaZulu government.

"The world has come to associate Zulus with bloodshed and spears," said Zuma.

"There is something fundamentally wrong with the manipulation of our Zuluness to canvass political power."

She said it was imperative that the record be set straight: the carrying of lethal weapons has never been Zulu tradition, Zulus carried weapons only when going on hunting expeditions or into war.

Other than that, Zulus were careful what kind of cultural accoutrements they carried in public. They could be punished for carrying what appeared to be a dangerous weapon. To show respect for their fellow beings, they carefully chose the place to which they could go with their weapons.

"It is unZulu for people to carry these weapons and march in a threatening manner into town," she said.

She said the ANC needed to go to Ulundi and discuss this thorny issue with the KwaZulu government.

"Only when the ANC marches on Ulundi and seeks audience with the KwaZulu government can this issue be thrashed out, and further violence prevented."

"Only when Zulus understand each other and stop fighting among themselves in Natal, can unity be forged among black people."

She added that only when blacks are united can lasting peace be ushered in.
59 killed in latest unrest

JOHANNESBURG. — Fifty-nine people died and 25 were injured in political violence in the past week, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday.

In its Weekly Repression Report, the HRC said most of the victims died in Natal, with the PWV region accounting for 11 deaths.

It said the death of ANC Natal leader Mr Reggie Hadabe and last weekend's massacre at Umbumbulu, in which 20 people died, were likely to fan more violence.

The HRC said the two incidents might also retard attempts to establish peace in Natal.

Two people died in police custody this week, raising the total to 111, the HRC said. — Sapa
Plummeting on Africa’s chart

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE young man behind the counter flashed a broad smile that says: "Welcome to Botswana, etc." But the expression on his face changed as soon as we answer his next question: "We are from South Af-

ically, one would expect outsiders to sympathize with our plight for be-

cause of the grasping of teeth and the weeping.

But no, this smile and many others, I would realize later, vanished because of our cause.

Botswana, to put it mildly, is getting fed-up with South Africans, especially with the black liberation movements.

A journalist covering last week’s Gaborone summit between the Pan African Congress and the South Afri-

can Government told me: "You guys must put yourself in our shoes. You can’t even agree on a basic thing like finding a common solution to the violence.

I thought he was crazyI thought he was crazy and absurd.

As if this was not enough.

I was astounded by the fact that the need had very little voice even in Botswana, which is about the size of Tzaneen, when a man I did not know said by my face: "Stop the violence and we will start re-

pecting you again."

How the hell can he speak like that? The man is obviously ignorant of the disparate nature of South African politics.

I concluded that he was probably born many years after his country got inde-

pendence from the British. Does he know what apartheid has done to our minds, our very being? Man!

"No, no," said another journalist, "the problem can be solved by talking. Imagine, what’s stopping the African National Congress from discussing these differ-

ences with the Inkatha Freedom Party if they are genuine about stopping the blood from flowing?"

Forces of destabilisation

"Forget the ‘third force’. It exists throughout southern Africa. In fact, the forces of destabilisation exist across the continent."

In essence he said that while Botswana citizens understood our dilemma, they felt liberation movements have empha-

sized the differences rather than accentuated.

A couple of years ago a colleague re-

turned from a conference of photographic jour-

nalism in UK and told this story: "At the end of the three-day seminar I was asked to thank the organizers on behalf of my South African colleagues present. I had not even finished my open-

ning remarks when I was shouted down. ‘Tell us about apartheid, you black boot’."

My colleague said he felt his Afri-

can counterparts were duping him because they thought he was washig back.

The congress was concerned about fighting to the end the sys-

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"No, no," said another journalist, "the problem can be solved by talking. Imagine, what’s stopping the African National Congress from discussing these differ-

ences with the Inkatha Freedom Party if they are genuine about stopping the blood from flowing?"

Forces of destabilisation

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nalism in UK and told this story: "At the end of the three-day seminar I was asked to thank the organizers on behalf of my South African colleagues present. I had not even finished my open-
HARARE - Archbishop Desmond Tutu has warned the South African Government, the ANC, PAC and Inkatha: "End violence now or have next to nothing to pick up when a post-apartheid society has been created."

Speaking at a news conference in Harare on Monday on the first day of the general assembly of the All Africa Conference of Churches of which he is president, Tutu said: "We should be saying to the political leadership of South Africa that we are going to end up with no one enjoying the freedom for which so many sacrificed.

"Please stop your grandstanding, your brinkmanship, your one-upmanship and become statespersons, statesmen." Tutu said he would like to address South Africa's three main black political parties.

"So far, we have made calls to the South African Government to deal more effectively with the violence but we also have to address the ANC, the PAC and Inkatha and say to them: "For goodness sake, discipline your followers. Let them learn to tolerate differences." he said.
THE impending transfer of administrative control of land by government to homelands could contribute to the climate of violence and instability in the country, the SA Council of Churches said yesterday.

The SACC described the decision to transfer superintendence of more than 400 000ha of former Development Trust land to six self-governing territories as "reprehensible".

It called on President F W de Klerk to halt the sale of land and proclaim a moratorium on land transfer until a representative government was in place.

"The issue of land restitution and redistribution as a component of a national land reform programme is a matter for negotiation in a representative forum. We warn that this step can contribute to the current climate of violence and instability. The incorporation of Claremont into KwaZulu is a case in point," an SACC statement said yesterday.

In another statement, various anti-apartheid organisations in Natal, including the Human Rights Commission and the Association for Rural Advancement, said government's decision was aimed at winning allies in a future election.

"The land question is one of the most sensitive issues to be resolved in SA. Transfer of precious and finite land assets from one apartheid bureaucracy to another will neither assist resolution of the land question nor negotiations for a new, acceptable South African constitution."

The ANC has also called for a moratorium on state land sales.
Olive branch offered to IFP

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

The National Peace Committee is planning a meeting - possibly within days - between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the crisis in Natal.

NPC chairman Mr John Hall will meet Buthelezi today to invite him to such a meeting. Mandela has already accepted an invitation for talks involving signatories of the National Peace Accord.

The meeting will discuss the violence that is sweeping Natal, which led on Tuesday to the assassination of ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Mr Reggie Hadebe.

Hadebe was killed when the car in which he, ANC legal adviser Mr John Jeffries and executive member Mr Shakes Sele were travelling, was ambushed near Richmond.

The Cabinet met yesterday to discuss the crisis in Natal and the State Security Council will meet today to discuss measures that could be implemented to prevent the violence from escalating into civil war.

It is understood that State President FW de Klerk is considering sending troops into the region and possibly declaring parts of Natal "unrest areas".

De Klerk yesterday said he was shocked by Hadebe's murder.

The IFP said yesterday it was "very disturbed" by the killing.

"Though he was no friend of the IFP, we abhor this senseless killing."
Call for negotiations

A CALL for petitions to be sent to all political leaders has been made to more than 40 South African newspapers and magazines.

The non-political Peace-Now movement in Durban, headed by businessman and cancanist Brian Moore, says signatures to the petitions will be asked to support calls for the immediate cessation of violence and the start of negotiations for a peaceful and democratic South Africa. 29/10/92
Political Violence

Grim Warning On

By ANDREW DANCEL

...
Hopes rise for Mandela, Buthelezi to meet soon

Political Correspondent

HOPES are rising that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi may soon meet to try to staunch the bleeding that is pushing Natal into civil war.

The assassination on Tuesday of ANC Natal Midlands deputy leader Mr Reggie Hadebe, which threatened to sabotage delicate negotiations for the talks, seems instead to have given them new impetus.

However, it became clear yesterday that patience in the Natal killing fields was running out as ANC Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala warned that a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting would not end the carnage.

And northern Natal ANC chairman Mr Aaron Ndlouv stressed that the organisation's three provincial regions in Natal were opposed to talks between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela.

National Peace Committee (NPC) chairman Mr John Hall is to meet Chief Buthelezi today and President De Klerk tomorrow to advance negotiations for the planned meeting for which former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda laid the groundwork last week.

Mr De Klerk is also expected today to announce new security measures to curb the Natal violence, including declaring trouble-spots as unrest areas and sending in troop reinforcements.

Measures were discussed at yesterday's Cabinet meeting but are expected to be finalised only at today's meeting of the State Security Council.

Informed sources said that at a special two-day meeting of the NPC executive at Pilgrims Rest this week, the government, the ANC and the IFP had "reached an understanding".

See page 33.
More Transkei border patrols

Political Staff

THE government announced last night that it was to step up patrols on the Natal/Transkei border to prevent the infiltration by MK- and Inkatha members... but police could provide no evidence that MK was in fact doing so.

Police spokesmen said its intelligence wing had "very strong" information that MK members were coming into Natal from Transkei.

But, despite repeated questions at a press conference last night to the head of the Internal Stability Unit, General Johan Swart, and a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, no facts were given to justify claims that MK was in fact infiltrating Natal from Transkei.

Captain Kotze also repeated the claims about intelligence information and said MK members had been arrested in Natal "and they must have come from somewhere."

Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw said in a statement yesterday: "There is indisputable information that organisations such as MK and Apia are conducting operations in South Africa from Transkeian territory with the tacit approval of the Transkei Defence Force."

The ANC said last night that the offensive was "clearly aimed at undermining all efforts to achieve peace". It added: "We would have thought that Mr Louw would have expressed concern about the publicly known AWB paramilitary patrols, which are clearly taking the law into their own hands, in the area."

Leader of EC team arrives

JOHANNESBURG — The co-ordinator of the European Community team of observers, Mr Kevin Aarvold, arrived in South Africa yesterday.

"We will be operating in close co-operation with the National Peace Secretariat as well as with the United Nations and observer teams from other international organisations," he said in a statement. — Sapa

Election date crucial — Patriotic Front

PORT ELIZABETH — Patriotic Front leaders meeting here yesterday said it was of crucial importance that a date be set for the election of a constituent assembly.

The summit, attended by delegates from 11 organisations including homeland governments, the ANC, SAPC and Cosatu, also emphasised that Codesa remained the best forum for multilateral negotiations.

In a statement issued after the one-day meeting, the PF leaders said they agreed there should be no further delays to the resumption of talks.

Earlier, in an opening address, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said PF leaders should "resist with all the energy we can muster the notion that we should enter into protracted talks on a new negotiating forum in order to accommodate certain groupings which for reasons of myopia decided not to board the train when it left the station many months ago".

It was agreed the Codesa management committee should pay serious attention to the involvement of other organisations of "civil society" in negotiation.

The leaders affirmed that decisions already taken at Codesa should not be subject to negotiation.

They also said the forum should continue to be chaired by the two judges who had "ably" chaired the last two sessions.

They urged the ANC and the government to speed up their talks on concluding outstanding matters listed in the Record of Understanding, including the critical questions of the creation of a climate of free political activity and the cessation of covert activities by the security forces. — Sapa
A symbolic meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi would go a long way

Time for leaders to think big
Measures to curb violence

Sowetan 30/10/92

INTENSIFIED CHAOS Cabinet tight-lipped

about steps to prevent more killings: Sowetan 30/10/92

By Ismail Lagardien and Themba Molefe Political Staff

The Government last night announced a series of measures aimed at curbing the spiralling violence in Natal after the intensified chaos of the past week.

Stunned by the assassination on Tuesday of Mr Reggie Hadebe, the deputy chairman of the ANC’s southern Natal region, President FW de Klerk last night said that South African Defence Force deployments in the battle torn province would be doubled and certain areas in the region would be declared unrest areas.

De Klerk said that the South African Police would also increase its manpower in the region.

He said special measures would be taken to “stop the infiltration of Umkhonto we Sizwe members from the Transkei”.

De Klerk repeated the call for a meeting between ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The Government would also request Mr Justice Goldstone “to become more personally involved in the commission’s ongoing investigations into violence in Natal,” De Klerk said.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, however, yesterday flatly rejected a face-to-face meeting with Buthelezi as a way to end Natal violence.

Speaking at the end of the Patriotic Front summit in Port Elizabeth, he said despite repeated peace initiatives and a one-on-one meeting between him and Buthelezi, there had been no progress on the issue.
A KHAYELITSHA woman yesterday told the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Western Cape minibus taxi war how she desperately defended herself with a chair from a masked gunman wearing a police camouflage uniform, who shot at her.

Mrs Nokwenzani Mahlanyana, of D Block in Site B, was describing events on the night of September 3 last year, when masked men burnt down more than 60 shacks and killed at least three people.

Mrs Mahlanyana said yesterday that she had seen men carrying a plastic 20-litre drum towards her home from DM Block.

"Poured liquid."

The men were "black and white, and the whites wore camouflage uniforms."

She told the hearing that a man "wearing spotted clothing", which she later identified as police camouflage, had been pouring liquid from the drum into smaller containers, which other men then sprinkled on homes.

When she returned to her house, she found a black man and a white man standing at the front door.

Mrs Mahlanyana demonstrated to the hearing how the white man pointed a firearm at her, and how she picked up a chair to defend herself.

The gunman then fired at her from about 3 metres away. The bullet passed through the chair and lodged in her clothing, where it burnt her left shoulder.

United Nations observers Mr Helena-Maria Lim and Mr Vladimir Zhadorskiy attended the hearing briefly yesterday morning — unofficially.

City
woman tells of night of horror

Staff Reporter

Goldstone hearings in city

PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission will hold public hearings in Cape Town during December to strengthen the National Peace Accord and curb the illegal importation of automatic weapons, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday.
EC observer eager to assist

EC observer team co-ordinator Gavin Aarvold arrived in SA yesterday eager to prevent violence and promote peace.

Aarvold said at Krugersdorp Airport that the EC team, to eventually number 15, would seek to prevent violence, defuse tension and promote peace by its presence in situations of potential conflict.

"We will be operating in close co-operation with the national peace secretariat as well as with the UN and observer teams from other international organisations," he said, adding he was looking forward to contributing to efforts to defuse violence.

He would not take questions. The EC team members include police officers, lawyers and economists. — Sapa.
Pact pinpoints danger hostels

By ARTHUR GAVRON (2)

AN unpublished pact between the government and the African National Congress commits the security forces to isolate, disarm and regularly check 28 hostels identified as centres of violence, crime and a danger to law and order.

Commonwealth diplomats, who disclosed details of the pact, said it was drawn up as an annexure to the Record of Understanding reached by President FW de Klerk and the ANC's Nelson Mandela on September 26. The details have remained secret presumably to avert protests.

Essentially, the confidential document spells out how the government and ANC foresee the implementation of a programme of security focusing on the flashpoint hostels named.

It embodies the main recommendations on the problem submitted by the Goldstone Commission which the government has accepted. November 15 is set as the deadline for completing the new security measures, though there is provision for extending that time limit.

Prime responsibility for executing the programme is delegated to the police, who, if necessary, may call for military support.

The document pays particular attention to the issue of fencing danger hostels. It stipulates that fences erected around new hostel perimeters should be 2m high, with limited access points allowed. Where old fences exist, they must be maintained in good repair.

Topping a list of hostels needing to be fenced is kwaMadala Hostel. Others earmarked for urgent attention include Mzembi Hostel, Dube, Nancefield, Dobsonville and Menash in the Greater Soweto area; the Sebeneng complex in the Vaal; and Umzimkulu Section T, Unit 17 and kwaMashu in kwaZulu.
A night of terror in Khayelitsha

VENNESSA SCHOLTZ
Weekend Argus Reporter

A KHAYELITSHA resident told a committee of the Goldstone Commission in Cape Town how he managed to save his own life by pretending his walking stick was a rifle and dropping down on one knee.

Mr Winston Mahlanyana told of a night of terror in which a petrol bomb was hurled at his shack, setting it alight, his brother was shot by a white man wearing camouflage and he had to run for his life, leaving his family.

Two days before the attack on September 4 last year, his wife told him taxi owners were going to attack because the vehicles were being burned.

On the night of the attack he heard a shot. Out of the window he saw people who called "Comrades, come out" and that Webta was coming.

A petrol bomb, which he had seen one of the men shaking, was thrown, setting the shack alight. Two attackers kicked in the door.

One of the men said "Laat ek vir hom skiet (Let me shoot him)" and shot his brother in the arm. Mr Mahlanyana threw a "three kilogram panelbeating hammer" at the men who ran off.

When he returned, the "attackers" were everywhere and, when they saw him, he pretended his walking stick was a rifle and managed to scare them off.

* The commission continues on Monday.
Monitors to launch joint body

By Quentin Wilson

AN UMBRELLA body for monitors of political violence is being set up.

But the Network of Independent Monitors (NIM), scheduled to launch in December, has been coordinating monitoring work by local organisations since August.

The interim NIM is a nationwide project that aims to coordinate all independent, local initiatives that monitor political violence.

Mr Rob Jenkins, one of two coordinators of NIM in the Western Cape, claims his team of 45 regional monitors have contributed to the building of peace in the Cape.

NIM has a head start on the international monitors because they use the data bases of "member" organisations.

NIM's office in Observatory can be contacted at (021) 47-4543.
Policeman shot dead in attack

KOMATIPORT. — A policeman from this village in the Eastern Transvaal has been shot dead and another injured in an attack at Tonga in Kwegwane.

Reports said the two policemen had been investigating stolen vehicles.

According to the police, overnight unrest report, a policeman was stoned and injured by a group at Mbekweni in the Western Cape. A home was petrol-bombed in Mfuleni, also in the Western Cape. — Sapa.
Tutu to churches: 'help to stop the killing'

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has urged Africa's church leaders to call on Mr Nelson Mandela and 'Chief' Mangosuthu Buthelezi to restrain their followers from "mindless bloodletting", following the assassination of Natal ANC leader Mr Reggie Hadabe.

He also asked them to send a message to President FW de Klerk, saying the government was not acting effectively to end the violence.

Tutu, president of the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACCI), told the organisation's general assembly on Wednesday that the situation was "desperate" after last weekend's massacre of 20 people in Natal.

He asked the assembly to send a message to all black political leaders, but especially to Mandela and Buthelezi, to say it was "very deeply distressed at the current violence".

"It just seems to me that you have reprisal and counter-reprisal. We call on them, as we assure them of our prayers, to do all they can to restrain their followers from engaging in the present mindless bloodletting."

Proposing the message to De Klerk, Tutu said: "The first part of that statement should be for us to congratulate him on the courage that he showed in February 1990, but then to say that we believe the South African government is not acting effectively to end the violence."
RIOTS & DISTURBANCES—GENERAL

1992

NOV. — DEC.
Gun claims:
Probe wants
IFP man

-Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry would like to see former IFP official Mr. Bruce Anderson, testify on claims that arms were channelled from Renamo to Inkatha by the SADF’s Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI).

The SADF has denied the allegations while the IFP has described the claims, made in an affidavit, as a “pack of lies”. Mr Anderson was deported from South Africa in July.

Goldstone Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday commission lawyers had contacted Mr Anderson in London to “discuss the circumstances under which it might be possible for him to testify”.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the allegations by Mr Anderson were relevant to the commission’s inquiry into the illegal importation, distribution and use of automatic weapons in political violence and intimidation.

Mr Anderson said in his affidavit he had been approached last year by IFP foreign affairs chief Mr Musa Myeni who “told me that weapons and ammunition were desperately short” and were needed to counter ANC attacks.

Weapons

He said he had met his “old friend” Mr George Barrett, Renamo’s representative in South Africa, and “asked him if he could arrange, weapons through Renamo for the IFP”.

Mr Barrett agreed to look into this and “subsequently the weapons were then collected and distributed by DMI to Inkatha”.

Meanwhile, unrest monitors fear an influx of guns and trained operatives into Natal could lead to a new pattern of violence and more killings.

Claims that the ANC’s uMkhonto weSizwe is operating from Transkei has been strongly dismissed by the organization. However, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotte yesterday said: “We know that MK is infiltrating across the border … our intelligence is so good that we are spending a lot of time and money on patrols there.”

Mr Anderson said he hoped by going public the ANC “may be persuaded to abandon their policy of political violence and terror” if they realised the forces ranged against them.

However, IFP central committee chairman Mr Walter Feigl yesterday suggested Mr Anderson may have been trying to hit back at the IFP for not giving him a job in London.
New bid for ANC, Inkatha to meet

conclude agreements with Inkatha. If this was so, no agreements reached in any negotiating forum could be relied on, he said.

A further issue which could keep Inkatha out of the process was the ANC’s recent discussion document, made public yesterday, in which it stated its desire to conclude a bilateral agreement with government on the powers, functions, duties and boundaries of regions.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has said he will reject any bilateral agreement between the ANC and government.

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New bid that had implications for other parties.

Hall’s attempt at brokering a meeting is specifically aimed at getting the peace accord apparatus to work efficiently and to reduce violence.

A senior government negotiator said yesterday that while it was vital that peace structures be fully supported and that everything was done to make them work, other initiatives had to be found.

He said there was an absolute urgency for multiparty talks to get going again before the violence “really gets out of control”. Once that happened any thoughts of an election being held and its result being accepted would be virtually impossible.

He said bilateral talks were vital to clear the path to an understanding.

“No two parties can think of going it alone,” he said. “Whatever talks are happening or are going to happen at a bilateral level are preparatory talks for multiparty negotiations.”

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The source said parties had to get together to find a political solution, but also to discuss ways of preventing a further escalation of violence.

ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said there was absolutely no attempt on the part of the ANC and government to come to conclusive agreements about the future in bilateral talks and then to impose these agreements on other parties. Bilateral talks with numerous parties were necessary to create the conditions to make the multiparty talks successful.

“We see the bilateral process as discussing a range of issues relating to negotiations at multiparty level, and trying to find the common thread where we can find agreement rather than concentrating on the divisive ones. Then we can move ahead more quickly to the real negotiations in a multiparty forum where decisions are taken,” Maharaj said.
Johannesburg — Mr. Sam Itoke of the Organisation of African Unity's secretariat will arrive in South Africa today to prepare for the visit of an OAU violence-monitoring team. — Sapa
Goldstone rebuff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan-Africanist Congress would in all probability not agree to a request by the Goldstone Commission to participate in an inquiry into attacks against policemen.

PAC director of publicity and information Mr Waters Toboti yesterday said the commission’s request would be forwarded to PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander and PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu for their consideration.

Mr Toboti however said: “My own recommendations would be that the PAC (and its military wing, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army) should not participate in the inquiry.”

The hearing is set to start shortly following allegations by the SAP that Apla was responsible for some of the attacks on policemen over the past two years.
Govt claims debunked

Political Staff

GOVERNMENT claims about an increase in political crime, which it used to justify the declaration of states of emergency in the 1980s, have been debunked by a Human Sciences Research Council study.

It said its analysis of convictions indicated that the rate for offences against government authority decreased "between the mid-1950s and the late 1980s."

The study found that 12% of convictions in 1950 were for offences against government authority and good order, but by 1987 this had dropped to 4% of all convictions.
Mandela, Buthelezi may meet

A MEETING between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is within reach, the main broker in the peace process, Mr John Hall said yesterday.

After weeks of intense shuttle diplomacy and lobbying, Hall said agreements on details of the crucial meeting could be secured before the weekend.

He said he envisaged the meeting would take place within two weeks or so and would form part of a greater effort to bring together all signatories of the Peace Accord.
Chikane calls for urgent conference

BY THEMBA KHUMALO

The high level of violence has prompted SACC head Rev Frank Chikane to write open letters to the country's political leaders asking them to hasten the convening of a multi-party conference which would culminate in a constitution-making body.

Chikane, an outspoken apartheid critic, appealed to leaders, among them State President FW de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the PAC's Clarence Makwetu, to act boldly by convening the much-awaited conference as a possible solution to end violence.

He said: "The situation in our hands at this juncture is most disturbing. The current wave of violence in Natal, with an added potential of a civil war, as well as the lack of public vision regarding the direction of negotiations on a new constitution, combine to create a scenario which calls for urgent action by all the leaders in the country."

**Differed**

He said while the politicians differed on complicated details on the nature of the promised post-apartheid settlement, ordinary people who did not fully understand these complications were paying with their lives.

"We ask that you work for the speedy convening of a multi-party conference, which should conclude with the announcement of a date for a constitution-making body."

"The conference must be held before the end of December this year, and the date for the election should be fixed no later than the end of 1993," Chikane said.

He said he believed the announcement of an election date would mark a significant watershed in the negotiations process.

He said the SACC was extremely concerned with the direction the situation was taking.

**Initiative**

"The SACC will meet on Tuesday and Wednesday to assess the situation and consider what role the church could play to ensure that the pain inflicted on South Africans was ended," he said.

His initiative follows that taken by the Anglican head Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who met KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday.
State blamed for violence

ANC calls for urgent National Peace Accord meeting

By Mzimasi Ngudle

The state of violence that has swept Natal and the Reef was clearly orchestrated to suit the political agenda of the Government, political organisations said yesterday.

And in a bid to stem the escalating violence, the African National Congress (ANC) has called an urgent meeting of signatories to the National Peace Accord (NPA).

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation was consulting with the NPA structures following epidemic violence that claimed the life of its Natal Midlands regional leader Reggie Hadobe last month.

This week train violence erupted on the Reef claiming at least eight lives since Tuesday.

"There is a clear pattern in the violence. It is an orchestrated campaign to suit the political agenda of the Government," Marcus said.

Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said the Government was responsible for the violence.

"The violence is clearly orchestrated by the regime. When it reaches horrific proportions De Klerk suddenly emerges as a peacemaker. That is why he sent troops to Natal," he said.

Mr Waters Toboti, director of publicity for the Pan African Congress (PAC), said: "It is clear the enemy is involved in whatever happens."

Both Azapo and the PAC reaffirmed their opposition to the National Peace Accord, saying it could not resolve the violence.

"You cannot call on people committing violence to resolve it," Moodley said.

He called for a "patriotic front of patriots" as the first step to stem violence. Asked to identify them, Moodley said they included the ANC, PAC, Azapo, Unity Movement, Wosa, Natu, Cosatu and civic organisations.

Toboti said that "criminals cannot investigate themselves". He urged liberation movements to come together and speak with one voice. He rejected the NPA and the Goldstone Commission as creations of the Government.
**the nation**

**in brief**

**Prison deaths probe**

A POLICE general and 12 former magistrates have been appointed to prevent and investigate deaths in detention, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

Twenty former police generals have also been appointed to visit police cells at any time.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel had given an undertaking to appoint a team of retired magistrates to look into deaths in police custody.

In the meantime, General Louw Malan, of police headquarters, would investigate every death in detention.

**Tutu, Buthelezi meet**

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu met Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Ulundi yesterday to discuss a proposal for a joint meeting of all black political leaders.

"The Archbishop's request was part of the continuing efforts by church leaders to work for an end to violence and to facilitate a lasting political settlement which accommodates the aspirations of all South Africans."

"Since this was an issue under discussion in the National Peace Committee, the meeting resolved to await the outcome of current discussions in the committee," a statement from Buthelezi said.

**March on Parliament**

SEVERAL hundred members of the Western Cape Principals' Forum marched on Parliament yesterday to demand a single, democratic and nonracial education department.

A memorandum was handed to Mr Boete Apreadle, the chief inspector of extra-curricular activities in the Department of Education and Culture in the so-called coloured House of Representatives, to shout of "We want Abe" (Hom Education Minister Abe Williams). - Sapa.
Minister calls for urgent peace talks

LAW and Order Minister Hermus Kriel yesterday called for an urgent meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to bring an end to violence in the country.

Kriel, who announced a package of sweeping measures to end violence in Natal, called for an end to political posturing in the interests of peace.

"I would like to make an urgent appeal to Dr Buthelezi and Dr Mandela: For God's sake, please meet; for God's sake, please make peace. We have to stop the senseless killing of people in our country," Kriel told a news conference in Pretoria.

Kriel said he had declared Umbumbulu and Richmond in Natal as unrest areas.

The security forces were experiencing difficulty in fighting violence in the province because attacks were well planned and executed at night, and because of the availability of AK-47 assault rifles and other firearms.

Kriel said blatant disregard for the national peace accord, inflammatory statements from local leaders and the difficult terrain in Natal were further hampering peacekeeping efforts, as was a proposed ANC march to Ulundi.

Kriel said an additional 2,000 SAPF members had already been deployed in Natal, and a further 310 members of the SAP internal security unit were being concentrated in "hot spots".

UN and Commonwealth observers had been asked to pay particular attention to the region, he said.

WILSON ZWANE reports that Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Buthelezi met in Ulundi yesterday to discuss ways to curb the violence.

Buthelezi's office said in a brief statement that the discussions formed part of the church leaders' efforts to resolve the crisis.

The statement said Tutu, Buthelezi and two other senior KwaZulu government officials held "intensive" discussions on the archbishop's proposals for a joint meeting of all black political leaders.

However, since that was an issue under discussion in the national peace committee, it was resolved that the outcome of the committee's discussions be awaited, the statement said.

On Wednesday, SA Council of Churches (SACC) general secretary Rev Frank Chikan, sent a letter to 15 political leaders including President F W de Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi urging them to address the violence.

The leaders should work towards convening a multi-party conference and setting a date for elections, he said.

The leaders should address the public about violence in SA.

THE National Housing Department has asked the Goldstone commission to review its recommendations that hostels be fenced off.

National Housing director-general Duggie de Beer said in a report to the commission that government could not "under present circumstances" meet the obligations it had made in the report and had to fence off certain hostels.

Instead, priority should be given to upgrading and conversion, with fences being erected only where firm evidence existed that a hostel was being used as a launching pad for violence.

He said that although a programme for repairing and erecting of fences around hostels identified by the commission had been prepared, "it has not been possible to proceed with construction in the light of prevailing circumstances".

De Beer said Inkatha and the Transvaal
Goldstone: No claims of bias

Johannesburg

The international observers of the Goldstone Commission's investigation units said yesterday they were unaware of any allegations of bias within the commission or its investigative teams.

The co-ordinator of the international observers, Commander Tom Laidlaw, said in reaction to a SABC news report the observers would assess the investigation into violence and intimidation.

The teams were to be made of seconded police and defence force officers and lawyers. Any allegations of bias would be investigated. — Sapa
Glimmer of hope for SA peace talks

By S'DU MNGADI

THE long-awaited one-to-one meeting between Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela is on the cards.

The meeting, the result of National Peace Committee chairman John Hall’s shuttle diplomacy, is part of an ambitious three-stage programme to end political violence and restart constitutional negotiations.

The meeting is increasingly being seen as the key to progress in negotiations.

ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa this week said Mandela would speak on measures the ANC intended taking to address political violence at today’s funeral of Natal Midlands ANC deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe.

Mandela’s address will follow a meeting in Maritzburg this week between a high-powered delegation of 15 ANC National Working Committee members and Natal’s three ANC Regional Executive Committees — who have been vociferously opposed to the Mandela-Buthelezi meeting.

Hall is scheduled to deliver a crucial report-back to the Peace Committee’s executive committee on Tuesday on the programme.

The programme proposes a multi-party conference of review, a meeting of National Peace Accord signatories and a bilateral meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela.

Hall has been shuttling between State President FW de Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi to get an agreement. City Press this week reliably learnt the programme had been endorsed by all three leaders but, as a mere formality, still needed approval of the NPC executive committee.

NPC secretary Frans du Preez said the Tuesday meeting, to be attended by the ANC’s Sidney Masufumi, Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, government ministers and National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Anton Gildenhuys, would decide on the next course of action.

A major announcement was expected to be made after the meeting, Du Preez said.

Government sources told a foreign journalist that Hall’s meeting with De Klerk and Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer in Cape Town last Friday endorsed the three-stage programme.

It’s envisaged that the multi-party conference of review being called for by Buthelezi and the newly-formed Committee of Concerned South Africans (Cocosa) — comprising Inkatha, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie — will include rightwing parties, as well as the PAC and Azapo.

This week, Buthelezi said a multi-party conference should review the peace process which he said had become ineffective. He also said he had been encouraged by recent NPC moves.
Mourning family shot dead

JOHANNESBURG. — Ongoing violence has claimed the lives of 14 people, of whom four were mourners shot dead on their way home from a funeral, according to news and police reports.

A police spokesman said men armed with AK-47 rifles fired at people in a car on their way home from a funeral at the Odidini reserve in Umbumbulu, Natal. He said four of those killed were from the same family.

The fifth victim was shot outside the car.

A man has been arrested and is expected to appear in court soon.

Police in Durban have expressed concern at the discovery of another cache of M60 anti-personnel rifle grenades in the Folweni area, weekend news reports said.

This was the fourth cache of M60s found in Natal in recent months.

Five suspects were arrested on Friday night.

Nine people were burnt, shot or hacked to death on Saturday, police said in their unrest report yesterday.

Seven were killed on the Reef and two in Natal, while 10 people were reported injured.

Those killed included three bodies with bullet wounds found in Thokoza near Alberton. In nearby Katlehong, a dead woman with bullet wounds and another body, burnt beyond recognition, were found next to a burnt-out minibus.

A supporter of the Inkatha Freedom Party was shot and killed by an unknown attacker with a .45 revolver in Ntabamilepe near Ladysmith and a man was killed and a woman and child injured at Wembezi near Estcourt in an attack by men armed with pangas and knives. — Sapa
Four die in violent weekend

Crime Report

FOUR people died and a gang member was wounded in weekend violence in the Peninsula, police said yesterday.

Police spokesman Lieutenant John Sternenberg said a "Laughing Boys" gang member, Mr Rashaad Williams, 26, was shot and wounded in Athlone in a battle with rival gang members yesterday afternoon.

On Friday night, Mr Kerneels-van Wyk, 39, was fatally stabbed in the neck during a robbery in Belhar.

Early on Saturday, Mr Michael Mbotzi was shot dead by a security guard in Khayelitsha. Two security guards have been arrested.

Mr Ralph Pietersen of Betty Street, Elsie's River, was bludgeoned to death with a rock early on Saturday.

Also on Saturday Mr Barend Johannes, 28, of Pine Place, Kleinvlei in Eerste River, was stabbed to death in a drunken brawl.
Army chief Meiring hits out at ‘ANC operations teams’

PIETERSBURG — Army chief Lt-Gen George Meiring lashed out on Friday at what he called ANC-sponsored “special operations teams” which, disguised as security force members, wreaked mayhem before putting the blame on security forces.

Addressing a medal parade at Far-Northern Transvaal Command, Meiring said “special operations teams” were attempting to discredit the security forces and specifically the army.

He said according to an instruction issued by Umkhonto we Sizwe acting chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda and SAPC politburo member Ronnie Kasrils, it had been decided to make available arms and arms caches to MK self defence units and the special operations teams.

"Although some commanders have maps indicating some of the arms caches, detection is difficult because of criminal control over those caches," Meiring said.

He said while there were good indications of the extent of the arms caches, it could be expected, if the "underground" instructions were carried out, that incidents of violence involving MK and the special operations teams would increase.

Meanwhile, government rejected at the weekend a call by the ANC for the inclusion of MK in a joint security venture to quell rising violence in Natal.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said: “We firmly believe MK is part of the problem of violence in Natal.”

The call by the ANC follows the deployment of 2 000 SADF soldiers to assist the SAP and KwaZulu Police in a massive joint operation aimed at preventing civil war in Natal.

ANC Natal Midlands executive member Blade Nzimande said last week: “Our demand is for a speedy move towards an interim government and joint control over the security forces.

“You have to have a neutral force which is accepted by all sectors of the community before there can be peace.”

Kotze said: “We don’t believe in any private army, including MK, usurping the functions of the police force or the military, and in fact it is illegal to do so.”

But support for the concept of a joint peacekeeping force has come from national peace committee vice-chairman Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

He recommended that a joint peacekeeping force comprising the existing security forces and MK and other military wings of political organisations should be set up under international command. — Sapa-AFP.

Buthelezi ‘will never give in’

GINGINDILOVU — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi vowed on Saturday to continue resisting the ANC/SACP alliance, saying KwaZulu and Inkatha were the country’s final guarantee of a democracy.

Addressing about 15 000 people at Nyangweni near Gingindlovu in Zululand, Buthelezi condemned what he called ANC president Nelson Mandela’s failure to respond to repeated invitations to participate in a peaceful SA.

He said: “We will resist and we will go on resisting the ANC/SACP alliance until one day there is a democracy in SA.”

“We in KwaZulu and in the IFP are the final guarantee there will be democracy.”

In Johannesburg at the weekend, Inkatha Youth Brigade officials alleged that Siphiwe Nyanda, Joe Modise, Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa were responsible for the violence in the country.

The officials said they were going to “target the four and others whom we believe are masterminding the killing of our leadership and membership.”

Holomisa denied on Saturday that the Transkei Defence Force was training or assisting Umkhonto we Sizwe members. — Sapa.
No unrest reports
PRETORIA — From yesterday police would no longer release a daily unrest report because it was difficult to ascertain which cases were unrest-related and which were not, a police spokesman said yesterday.

However, police would issue reports in serious instances of unrest. — Sapa.
Inkatha accuses ANC of 'stalling tactics'

A MEETING between Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC leader Nelson Mandela should lead to a multi-party review of the peace process and constitutional negotiations, Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

Mdlalose accused the ANC of employing stalling tactics to draw focus from the need for a bilateral meeting between the two leaders.

"The executive committee of Inkatha is sick and tired of the prevarication and obfuscation which is holding the entire peace process up to ridicule."

"There should be a meeting between Dr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela, followed by a meeting of the signatories of the national peace accord which can then call on government to convene a national multiparty conference of review of both the peace process and the negotiation process," Mdlalose said.

But the ANC said yesterday its position on a bilateral meeting had not changed.

Spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation had called for an urgent meeting of the Natal/KwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee to review the situation in the province. The ANC had also called for a


*Inkatha (Second)* 11/4/72

meeting of all the signatories to the peace accord, she said.

"We are saying that any meeting which takes place between Inkatha and the ANC has to be thoroughly prepared so that it produces results," she said.

Yesterday, the Human Rights Commission said at least 180 people were killed in politically linked violence in Natal last month, bringing the toll in the province this year to 1,197.

Sapa reports that in its October unrest bulletin released in Durban, the HRC said the South Coast was the worst affected area with 112 deaths.

In Maritnburg, Defence Minister Gene Louw said crime and violence in the Natal
Def to halt execution

Maligned, impugned, sold

COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES

Supporters of the "Santa Monica Community Anti-Nuclear
Coalition" have gathered in front of the Federal Courthouse
in downtown Los Angeles to protest the execution of the
20-year-old nuclear physicist, Dr. John F. Kennedy, who was
convicted in 1976 of conspiring to export nuclear technology
to the Soviet Union. The group believes that the death
penalty is inhumane and that it is being used as a tool of
capital punishment to suppress political dissent.

The "Santa Monica Community Anti-Nuclear Coalition"
was formed in 1975 in response to the widespread public
protest against the construction of new nuclear power
plants. The group has been involved in numerous protests
against nuclear weapons and has successfully blocked the
construction of several nuclear power plants.

The supporters claim that Dr. Kennedy is being wrongfully
convicted and that his death sentence is a violation of his
human rights. They are calling for the immediate release of
Dr. Kennedy and the end of the death penalty.

Churches plan nationwide

rallies to end bloodshed
THE VIOLENCE

Still no angels

The argument continues over the causes of political violence and the SA Institute for Race Relations document by special research consultant Anthea Jeffery. She has defended herself vigorously against the attacks on her analysis by a group of researchers within the institute, which leaked a 23-page extract from Jeffery’s work to The Weekly Mail (Current Affairs October 29).

The immediate issue at dispute is whether — as Jeffery has argued — Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) have issued partisan reports heaping blame for the violence on the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and police, while ignoring any suggestion that the ANC and its allies might bear co-responsibility. This is not the same at all as arguing (which Jeffery did not) that the IFP, for example, is innocent.

Flaws and inaccuracies

The inhouse critics at the institute were joined by Dennis Davis, director of the Institute for Applied Legal Studies, and advocate Gilbert Marcus, in an article in The Star on September 22. Institute director John Kane-Berman says their article contains serious flaws and inaccuracies.

Notably, Davis and Marcus accuse Jeffery of omitting a passage from an analysis by the HRC of the Crossroads massacre. This the HRC attributed to “vigilante-related action” (defined as attacks by, or in defence against, surrogate forces of the State, in the form of vigilante private armies formed by homeland administrations or black local authorities).

But, says Kane-Berman, Jeffery produced this passage, almost verbatim and drawn from an HRC report (entitled Area Repression Report for April 1992) on page 43 of the October Spotlight in which her analysis appeared.

Davis and Marcus refer to opinion surveys “confirming the high proportion of black people in metropolitan areas who have been coerced into consumer boycotts, stayaways and rent boycotts.” These surveys also de-

THE FIRST BEER BREWED ACCORDING TO THE LAW.

Namibia Breweries were the first brewery in Southern Africa to brew according to the Reinheitsgebot*, the German Purity Law of 1516.

This law states that beer should be brewed from nothing other than barley malt, hops and water. It is the oldest of food laws anywhere in the world and safeguards the purity and quality standards for “German beer” drinkers throughout the world.

To ensure that our beers adhere to this law, our German brewmaster uses only the finest imported barley malt, selected hops and water.

And, in accordance with the law he doesn’t substitute any of these pure ingredients with adjuncts such as maize, rice or sugar.

There are quicker and more cost-saving methods of brewing but these often result in a compromise in the quality of a beer.

It is through our commitment to this purity law that our beers have a truly unique character – full bodied with a mildly bitter, well balanced flavour and subtle, yet distinct, hops aroma.

Such is the cost of brewing in this purist fashion that “German style” beers are a luxury in many parts of the world. In South Africa we are more fortunate.

*PRONOUNCED RHINE-HEIGHTS-GEBOT
Goldstone delays peace hearing

PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission has indefinitely postponed a public hearing next month on ways to strengthen the National Peace Accord because the National Peace Committee will be meeting later this month, Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

When the commission decided to hear evidence on ways to strengthen the National Peace Accord's structures to make them more effective in reducing the levels of political violence, there was a complete deadlock.

in multi-party negotiations, Mr Justice Goldstone said in a statement.

"Since then the executive of the National Peace Committee has succeeded in removing certain obstacles and, in consequence, a meeting of the full National Peace Committee has been called for November 24."

The commission decided to postpone the hearing, scheduled for December 7 in Cape Town, "in the anticipation of further multi-party negotiations", the statement said. — Sapa
ANC renegades behind campaign to kill police

RENEGADES members of the ANC's self-defence units were behind a campaign to kill policemen, police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said yesterday.

Opperman said 10 defence unit members - many of them from Phola Park - had been arrested. Three had appeared in court in connection with possession of firearms and attacks on policemen.

A recent claim by an ANC defence unit member that he had accidentally shot a prominent ANC member because he mistook him for a policeman was further evidence of instructions they had received to kill policemen, he said.

At least 194 policemen have died violently since the beginning of the year. Last year 143 were killed.

ANC claims that the defence units were out of control because of police infiltration were "a clear attempt to shift blame by means of propaganda", the police and SADF said in a joint statement yesterday.

"Movements of sources producing unfounded, unproven, untested and malicious allegations aimed at alienating the security forces from the very people they protect, must be questioned," the statement said.

Opperman said 10 ANC members had been arrested in possession of firearms and police uniforms. Police were investigating "several armed attacks carried out by ANC members or supporters in the Vaal triangle, particularly Sebokeng".

He said the ANC was hindering police investigations at the scenes of unrest-related murders and crimes.

Opperman said ANC suggestions that a "code of conduct" be drawn up for self-defence unit members were welcomed.

Saps reports that three people - one of them a policeman - were killed and two others were injured in attacks on Reef trains yesterday. Police said Const P M, Mpanza was thrown from a train between Ejaburg and Katlehong on the East Rand. His body, which landed under a train, was badly mutilated.

He was the third policeman in seven months to die in violence on trains.

In Atteridgeville two assistant constables were attacked while on patrol on Wednesday night.

Government's Social Relief Fund paid out R670,000 and had assisted more than 1,000 families affected by political violence since it was established three months ago, fund chairman Piet Koornhof said in Durban yesterday.

Gov't fence sitting on hostels

GOVERNMENT will not fence off hostels, identified as sources of violence, in terms of the record of understanding reached with the ANC in September.

In terms of the understanding, seven Reef hostels were to have been fenced off by Sunday.

Local Government and National Housing Department official Johan Oosthuizen said yesterday government would not fence off hostels by Sunday.

Oosthuizen said objections from Inkatha and the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association had made it impossible to construct fences around the hostels in terms of the agreement. He said it seemed implementation of the agreement would fuel violence rather than end it.

However, the hostels would be fenced off in due course as part of government's strategy to upgrade them, Oosthuizen said.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday the ANC had not met to discuss the matter.

But government's decision to renege on the agreement had serious implications for future negotiations. He would not discuss the implications.

The agreement was hailed as a breakthrough for constitutional negotiations which had virtually collapsed after the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

The ANC cancelled talks between itself and government after the massacre, saying such talks would be resumed only after government had carried out sufficient steps to curb violence.

The fencing off of the hostels is a demand of the ANC, which attributes most unrest to incidents at hostel residents. The organisation believes barriers between hostel residents and township residents will restore peace in the townships.
THE African National Congress alliance appears to be going ahead with plans for a new wave of mass action before Christmas.

The campaign will include marches, pickets and protest action, some of which are to be aimed at occupying supermarkets, control board offices, rent offices, pension offices and other selected target areas.

There will also be "mass education workshops" to discuss causes of economic and other hardships.

The plans for further action are being discussed by the ANC/SACP and Cosatu at meetings this week and next week when decisions on details and dates are expected to be taken.

Cosatu is reported to be considering a plan to disrupt business during the festive season.

The campaign is being organised to protest against hardships said to have been brought about by retrenchments, high prices (especially food), discriminatory pensions, the drought and other factors.

Cosatu spokesman Mr Neil Coleman told Weekend Argus this week the further action would be part of a campaign launched in mid-October at the time of the mass protest action outside parliament in Cape Town.

Action at Christmas was likely to be put to drawing attention to the plight of many people who could not afford to buy food.

Mr Coleman said details of next month's action would be discussed at a meeting of Cosatu's executive committee.

Cosatu also warned that the furore around overpayment of SITE tax by hundreds of thousands of employees had set the labour movement on a collision course with the government if overtaxed workers were not refunded.

A spokesman for the ANC's campaign committee said the nature and extent of further mass action would be considered at a meeting next week to be attended by representatives of all the alliance partners, including the ANC Youth League.

It was likely that further mass action would also focus on the latest corruption and misadministration scandals revealed this week in Lebowa and KwaNdebele.

The spokesman confirmed that plans were going ahead for the controversial protest marches to Mmabatho and Ubndi to demand free political activity, but said the dates had not been fixed yet.

The Mmabatho march, postponed recently, was still expected to be held in December.

The campaigns would seek negotiations at various levels to voice protests and to outline demands to government departments and other agencies on issues like VAT, drought and poverty relief, housing, electricity, rent and pensions.

Demands would be put to the food industry at national level to make its structures "democratic".

Further mass action also was being planned in the homelands "to bring the despot's to their senses".

Moves were afoot for protest marches in the Western Transvaal and Free State as part of a campaign against institutions which "bankroll" homeland administration.

ANC strategists have warned about a danger that campaigns could be distorted by the "glorification of one form of action".

The campaign for free political activity was cited as an example of a action that was at risk of being "fetishised into a series of marches on the centres of Bantustan despotism".

The ANC's planned programme of action against high food prices focused on a list of at least five main demands. These were:

- No VAT on basic foods;
- Lower food prices;
- Milk and bread at fixed, affordable prices;
- The democratisation of control boards; and
- An end to unilateral restructuring — especially of abattoirs.

The campaign, named Asinamali ("We don't have money"), also included local negotiations with "exploitative traders" on issues like bringing down their prices.

Doctor shot in Angola critical

WINDHOEK. — A Belgian agronomist, Pascal Andre, 26, is critically ill in a Windhoek hospital after being shot in the head and chest at Runmba in central Angola.

He was flown from Angola by Medical Rescue International to Windhoek for emergency surgery on Wednesday night.

Mr Andre's parents arrived in Windhoek from Belgium yesterday afternoon, Mrs Parkhouse said. — Sapa.
New findings likely to rock government

Political Staff

THE Defence Force employed a notorious convicted murderer and CCB agent from May to December 1991 to discredit the ANC — and then-Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer knew about it last December, the Goldstone Commission has disclosed in a shock announcement.

Mr Justice Goldstone’s findings yesterday — which have aroused new suspicions of a third force within Military Intelligence — are likely to rock the government.

In a dramatic raid last Wednesday, the commission and police swooped on an MI operational centre and found hundreds of files.

They sealed off the building and seized five files, which revealed that MI had employed convicted murderer and fired CCB agent Ferdi Barnard in May 1991 to establish a clandestine task group to discredit the ANC’s military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

His employment was a result of a referral to the “Director of Covert Collection” (DCC) by the SADF’s chief of staff, intelligence, Lieutenant-General Rudolph “Witkop” Badenhorst.

Defence Minister Mr Meyer — now Constitutional Development Minister — fired Barnard in December, 1991 after evidence in a court case that he was still employed by MI.

Mr Meyer said yesterday that he would not comment “at this stage” and referred inquiries to Minister of Defence Mr Gene Louw and the chief of the SADF, General Rolf Liebenberg.

Acting State President Mr Pik Botha yesterday said the government was giving urgent attention to the statement by Judge Goldstone.

The discovery of the clandestine task group within MI prompted Mr Justice Goldstone yesterday to appeal to President De Klerk to expand his powers and enable him to investigate all official and private armies across the political spectrum.

Mr Justice Goldstone’s damning discovery — which comes very close to confirming the mass of accusations of a government third force destabilising the ANC — is likely to shake the negotiation process.

This is the second time in seven days that SADF projects aimed at discrediting the ANC have been revealed.

President De Klerk — who received Mr Justice Goldstone’s statement in London yesterday — returns to South Africa today to a storm of controversy.

At a Press conference yesterday, Mr Justice Goldstone was ambivalent about whether he had discovered an official “third force.”

He said he did not believe the information which the commission had found so far added up to evidence of a third force.

But pressed further, he said it was clearly true that it was “some evidence.”
Goldstone calls for more power

Political Staff

The Goldstone Commission has called for its investigating powers to be extended to include public and private security forces and armies inside and outside South Africa.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday that the commission had no doubt that political violence and intimidation would not be curbed effectively until all public and private security armies had been investigated thoroughly. Also, successful multi-party negotiations and elections could not be held in the climate of violence and distrust.

"For the commission to continue to multiply its inquiries would amount to an attempt to treat the symptoms and not the disease of violence."

The United Nations' secretary-general, Dr Boutros Boutros Ghali, had recommended that the commission investigate the army, police and political movements' military wings.

However, the commission did not have the resources to do so.

"It does not have the resources to search the many hundreds of files it has found at the Military Intelligence establishment discovered by it on Wednesday."

The UN observer mission in South Africa last night expressed "its shock and dismay" at the revelations and gave its full support to Mr Justice Goldstone's call for wider powers.

"Such investigations could indeed serve to curb violence and be of benefit to the country as a whole."
Army chief defends Echoes

Meiring denies spy project was meant to discredit ANC

THE chief of the SA Army, General Georg Meiring, has denied jeopardising the peace process by authorising Project Echoes. (274)

"I wish to put on record that I approved Project Echoes as part of my line function. As chief of the SA Army I am responsible for the landward safety and security of South Africa and all its people," Meiring said yesterday. (277)

He said this following allegations that he wanted to discredit the African National Congress. He said he authorised a trip to London by Captain Pamela du Randt and a facilitator to try to confirm information that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had links with the Irish Republican Army and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation "because the existence of such links would have serious security implications".

(7/11/92)
Army chief defends Echoes

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revelations on SADF destabilisation

U.N. call for full probe into Coldstone

shock and dismay
The colonel who cracked it

It was largely the meticulous detective work of Colonel Henk Heslinga of the Goldstone Commission that helped earn the commission its latest "coup" in the form of a swoop on a secret Military Intelligence (MI) base.

The commission's subsequent discovery of documents pointing to a "third force" within MI was also the first major breakthrough of the Goldstone Commission's special investigative team on the Witwatersrand.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, in yesterday's report of the raid, complimented Heslinga and the investigative team for their "efficient detective work".

Colonel Heslinga, he said, had followed up information from a witness brought to the commission by the police.

The 45-year-old policeman has been quietly working independently for the commission since it started early last year. He was seconded from the police by the Justice Department to work on the commission as an independent investigator.

A commission source said yesterday Colonel Heslinga had followed up scores of violent incidents which the Goldstone Commission has probed since its inception.

"When something happened that the Goldstone Commission was focusing on, Colonel Heslinga would be asked to do the necessary detective work," the source said.

Notwithstanding his latest success, Colonel Heslinga was at work as usual yesterday collecting evidence in Natal for the commission's pending inquiry into the Polweni massacre.
GOLDSTONE COMMISSION

Raid on MI: tell of dirt

This is the full text of the Press statement by Mr Justice R J Goldstone, chairman of the commission of inquiry into the prevention of public violence and intimidation.

1. Since February 1990, the State President has set the government's face against the involvement of the security forces of the State being involved in criminal, illegal and dishonest practices and particularly in relation to political violence and intimidation.

2. When the commission was appointed, I was informed and assured in unequivocal terms by the State President and by the Minister of Justice that the commission would operate, at all times, as an independent judicial commission. That assurance has been scrupulously honoured by the President and the government. So, too, have the other political role players in South Africa respected the independence of the commission.

3. The commission was given unusual powers and resources, and in particular, I would refer to the power of search and seizure.

4. The commission has previously reported that the main cause for present violence arises from the political rivalry between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party. It has also reported that it had been presented with no evidence of an organised "third force" and that there was no evidence of human rights violations by the security forces.

5. On Wednesday last week, November 11, 1992, an investigation launched by the commission led it to a building which housed a large operations unit of the Military Intelligence.

Mr Justice Goldstone.

The commission came to that unit as a direct consequence of a witness brought to the commission by members of the South African Police. On the basis of the information given to the commission's counsel and efficient detective work performed by Colonel H Hettinga, police official on the staff of the commission, with the assistance of the investigation teams, the Military Intelligence operational centre was discovered. Two of the international experts attached to the commission's investigation teams, the Military Intelligence operational centre were discovered. Two of the international experts attached to the commission's investigation teams, the Military Intelligence operational centre was discovered. The files were seized in consequence of the information provided to the commission by the aforementioned witness.

6. With the assistance of the information provided by the South African Police, the building housing the Military Intelligence unit was seized and five files were seized. The files were seized in consequence of the information provided to the commission by the aforementioned witness.

7. The files seized by the commission disclose the following information:

(a) From May 1991 until December 31, 1991, Military Intelligence employed Mr Ferdi Barnard, a notorious former member of the CCB.

(b) Mr Barnard's employment resulted from a referral to the "Director of Covert Collection" (DCC) by the Chief of Staff Intelligence, Lt General R Badenhorst.

(c) From May 1991, Barnard was employed for a trial period at a monthly salary of R3,000 and operational expenses of R800 a month. From August 1, 1991, he was employed permanently at a salary of R3,500 and operational expenses of R2,000 a month. That employment was recommended by DCC and approved by Lt General Badenhorst.

(d) As became public during 1996, Barnard is a former SAP drug squad sergeant and has two previous convictions for murder, one for attempted murder and three for theft. In 1984 he was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment. The effective sentence was six years. In 1988 he was released on parole and soon thereafter employed by the CCB.

(e) In consequence of his previous convictions, Barnard was not allowed to possess a firearm. On June 6, 1991, for the reason that he required it for his personal safety, DCC recommended to Lt General Badenhorst that Barnard should be issued with a pistol. He said that "the options open in request of issuing a firearm are:

(i) Issue of a SADF weapon;

(ii) Issue of a front company weapon.

It is recommended that a firearm be issued to this intelligence officer as his situation in respect of the past and present is totally understood."

Lt General Badenhorst refused to approve the issue of a firearm to Barnard.

(f) On June 20, 1991, Barnard submitted a report to Military Intelligence suggesting a plan for the task force he was to lead. The following points emerge from his report:

(i) It was to specialise solely on the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe "MK";

(ii) In particular it was to concentrate on the involvement of MK in crime and its relationship with criminal syndicates.

For that purpose "MK members were to be used to infiltrate the criminal elements and where such members could not be recruited they could be criminally compromised. For that purpose any implicated would be made, inter alia, of prostitutes, homosexuals, shebeen owners and drug dealers."

(iii) As an example of the manner in which members of MK would be compromised criminally or among their own members reference is made by Barnard to the case of Mr Peter Makaba.

(During May 1991 Mr Makaba was widely reputed in the Press as having been a police spy. That was denied by him and soon thereafter he was being a president of the ANC Youth League."

(v) Barnard's team had the ability to obtain access to:

(iii) The weapons, equipment and computers of the SAP criminal bureau;

(iv) Contacts at immigration control;

(v) Contacts at licensing authorities;

(vi) Revenue office computers;

(vii) The voters' roll;

(viii) Credit bureaux;

(ix) An independent group of telephone "bugging experts".

Barnard's plan detailing inter alia the aforementioned information was submitted to senior members of Military Intelligence and thereafter he was employed as a chief agent.

(g) One of the persons used by Barnard or one of his sub-agents was involved in the installation of computers at the ANC headquarters.

(h) Barnard's plan and follow-up reports were submitted to senior members of Military Intelligence. In a report dated August 25, 1991 reference is made to a "support agent network" of "prostitute, shebeen managers and criminal elements."

(i) On December 19, 1991 an article appeared in Beeld in which it was reported that a Mr Christopher Human had appeared in court on a charge of unlawful possession of an Uzi machinegun. In a bail application Mr Human is reported to have alleged that the weapon has been left with him by Barnard who tried to recruit him and an escort agency worked as spies for Military Intelligence.

(j) According to the Beeld article a spokesman for the Army denied that Barnard was employed by the Army. That denial was false.
Five files y tricks

(k) On December 19 1991 the Beeld article was drawn to the attention of DCC and "he instructed that (Barnard) be placed 'on ice' immediately".

On December 30 1991 DCC instructed that Barnard's services be terminated with immediate effect "upon instruction from the Minister".

(l) Barnard's services were terminated with effect from December 31 1991. He was paid three months salary in advance (R19 596) - in respect of January, February and March 1992.

(m) A report by the "handler" of Barnard intelligence as follows on January 9 1992:

"This source was 'sacked' on December 31 on instructions of the Minister of Defence. Contact is still being made in order to achieve the following:

(i) Finalise all financial matters - resource is handling, including receipts for an o/s advance of R5 83,95 for medical expenses.

(ii) To stabilise source in order to disassociate from acting irrationally and embarrassing SADF."

(n) In a further report dated January 21 1992, the same "handler" stated that Barnard's "attitude towards SADF still sour but his relationship with (the handler) is strong enough for (Barnard) to stay on track and not to go to a newspaper and cause trouble."

"(Handler) attempting to provide (Barnard) "with genuine investigation private work."

(o) References are contained in the files stating that the ANC is involved in criminal conduct including counterfeiting money and illegal importation of weapons.

In short, the Barnard files indicate that:

"(a) Highly placed members of the SADF Intelligence were party to the employment of a person with a serious criminal record involving crimes of violence and dishonesty.

(b) The SADF made a public statement denying that Barnard was employed by it when it was known in high quarters that such denial was quite untrue.

(c) At least one senior officer of Military Intelligence was prepared to recommend the illegal arming of Barnard with an SADF weapon. He was able, without any apparent adverse consequence, to himself to make such recommendation to Lt General Badenhorst.

9 In the operational centre in question there are 48 members who operate credit cards. The expenditure by way of the cards involves hundreds of thousands of rand. One of the 48 members, until his recent dismissal, was Mr L W J Flores, who was detained by the British Police on suspicion that he was involved in a plot to murder former policeman Mr Dirk Coetsee.

10 The commission believes that no decent member of the security forces would support or approve of such conduct or behaviour by any branch of those forces. It can only be calculated to undermine their respect for the legitimacy and moral base of their own organisation and jeopardise the efficiency and resolve to fight against crime.

11 In recent weeks the head of the army, Lt General Meiring has made public statements implicating MK in criminal conduct inter alia regarding the planned use of "special operations teams" from the PWV area to sabotage government installations in certain homelands and townships. These and other statements have now been publicly supported by the Minister of Defence and General K K Liebenberg, the head of the Defence Force. The public of South Africa is entitled to be informed by an independent source whether this type of allegation is true.

12 There are widespread perceptions supported by evidence that in Natal and elsewhere the IPP and ANC have ready access to automatic weapons.

13 The South African Police have been singularly unsuccessful in apprehending the culprits responsible for thousands of political murders over the past couple of years.

14 The IPP and marches in Johannesburg and Durban have openly flouted the law regarding the display of dangerous weapons at political meetings. No criminal prosecutions have been instituted against any of the organisers.

15 For months the Azanian People Liberation Army has claimed responsibility for the murder of many white and black members of the police.

16 The morale of the South African Police is being jeopardised daily by verbal and physical attacks on its members. Its capability to fight the frightening level of violence is being seriously eroded.

17 The commission has no doubt that political violence and intimidation in South Africa will not be effectively curbed until there has been a thorough investigation of all South African public and private security forces and armies whether inside or outside the borders of South Africa. For the commission to continue to multiply its inquiries would amount to an attempt to treat the symptoms and not the disease of violence in South Africa."
Barnes: I'm a capetype...
Dirty tricks top of Cabinet agenda

Crisis meeting
ANC ‘supports commission’

Political Staff

The ANC has given its full support to Mr Justice Richard Goldstone’s call for his commission to be given the authority to investigate the functioning and operations of the SAP, MKhonto we Sizwe, Apla, the Rhodesian Police and certain security firms. The government has said it is not opposed in principle to extending the commission’s investigative scope, but Constitutional Development Minister Mr Boobie Meyer said it would need to discuss with the judge “how far and exactly what kind of powers and authority he would need”.

Judge Goldstone made the call after releasing information received from a Military Intelligence (MI) establishment which indicated that convicted killer and former CC member Ferdi Barnard had been employed by MI to discredit the ANC.

"The ANC will provide whatever assistance is necessary to enable the Goldstone commission to carry out the above task,” the ANC said in a statement last night.

However, the PAC yesterday expressed its opposition to the call, saying only the body capable of addressing the issues objectively was a transatlantic authority.

SADF admits using ex-Frelimo soldier

Political Staff

The SADF admitted yesterday that it had "utilised" former Frelimo soldier Mr Joao Alberto Cuna but only as a "casual source" for the collection of information on the smuggling of weapons and arms caches.

Mr Cuna claimed recently he had taken part in the shooting of a house full of residents near Durban in March or April this year.

He told Vrye Weekblad newspaper he had been employed by a police officer, but subsequent Goldstone commission investigations have revealed that his hotel accommodation during a night in Maritzburg was paid for using a credit card linked to the Military Intelligence (MI) establishment.

The SADF said in a statement yesterday that it had only utilised Mr Cuna in July and August last year.

"Mr Cuna’s allegations are being investigated by the SADF and the SADF therefore cannot comment on these allegations," it added.

Asked if the Mr "Boy" Schultz who allegedly hired Mr Cuna was a MI member, an SADF spokesman said: "We know nothing about Mr Schultz."

Secret files not being guarded

Staff Reporter

The remainder of the files that the Goldstone Commission left behind at the Military Intelligence building it raided last week are not being guarded, according to commission secretary Mr Glen Cuthbertson.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday declined to answer further questions about his starting report which implied the commission was suspected.

"The Goldstone Intelligence in discarding mkhondo weSizwe (MI)"

From page 1

SADF had lied when it said Barnard had never been in its employ commission’s findings.

It was expected the cabinet would accede to Judge Goldstone’s plea to give his commission more powers, authority and co-operation and resources to properly investigate all public and private security forces and armies inside and outside the country.

With international and domestic pressure mounting, the cabinet, a source said, wanted to find the best way of being seen to act while keeping political heads out of the fry.

Even within the government’s ranks there was protest of the commission’s findings.

Ambassador to Washington Mr Harry Schwarz said he was "furious and outraged". The disclosures, he said, had undermined all the embassy’s hard work.

The United States administration has called for the prosecution of those involved in the exposed covert operations.

Meanwhile, Mr de Klerk and the cabinet face the National Party’s parliamentary caucus in Cape Town this morning.

Mr de Klerk, reeling under sharp attacks on the government’s handling of the economy, still has to convince the caucus he is taking decisive action on the MI row as well as on the corruption in the independent states which he underscored last week by the Parsons, de Meyer and Von der Hoeven commissions.

• Hopes that obstacles are being cleared to make way for negotiations gained ground yesterday when the ANC’s cabinet adopted a discussion document that opts for a five-stage process of change and possible power-sharing with the IFP.

This means the ANC plan and the government’s proposals are now very similar and reinforces speculation that multi-party talks could resume soon. The ANC’s proposals included the formation of a transitional executive council, as agreed at Codelsa II, elections for a constituent assembly, the adoption of a new constitution and transformation of South Africa into a democracy.

Nixon set to receive millions

WASHINGTON. - Former president Mr Richard Nixon has raised millions of dollars in compensation after a federal court ruled that he should receive the fortune of his private records of Watergate.

Mr Nixon challenged a 1974 court order compelling him to turn over impounding the documents and tapes, but lost.

He has continued to fight for compensation, which led to a ruling by the appeals court.

'’R16m needed for returnees'

JOHANNESBURG. - About R16 million is needed to help 4,000 exiles ready to return to South Africa, the Office of Returnees committee's NCCR has no money.

Repatriates have already received R500, 000, with 14,000 former exiles and political prisoners now battling with unemployment, shortage of housing.

The NCCR has accused the government of being uninterested in the repatriations.

Farmers and govt agree

JOHANNESBURG. — Manpower Minister Mr Leon Wessels and the SA Agricultural Union (SAAU) have reached agreement on a 17% increase to legislate labour law for farm workers based on freedom of association and collective bargaining.

The agreement does not contradict Wessels’s earlier deal with Cosatu.

Protest march: Bhutto arrested

RAWALPINDI, Pakistan. — Police arrested ousted prime minister Mr Benazir Bhutto yesterday after she and supporters broke through police barricades to protest against the banned anti-government protest.

About 200 police surrounded Bhutto and took her into custody along with other political leaders who once opposed the MQM but now support her bid to oust the government of Prime Minister Mr Nawaz Sharif. — Sapa-AP.
ANC 'supports commission'

Political Staff

THE ANC has given its full support to Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's call for his commission to be given the authority to investigate the functioning and operations of the SAP, uMkhonto weSizwe, Apli, the KwaZulu Police and certain security firms.

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"The ANC will provide whatever assistance is necessary to enable the Goldstone Commission to carry out the above task," the ANC said in a statement last night.

However, the ANC yesterday expressed its opposition to the call, saying the only body capable of addressing the proposed objective was a transitional government.

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Nixon set to receive millions

WASHINGTON. — Former President Mr Richard Nixon is set to receive millions of dollars in compensation after a federal court ruled that he was unjustly seized for the seizure of his private records of Watergate.

Mr Nixon challenged a congress ruling impounding the documents and tapes, but lost.

He continued to fight for compensation, which led to a ruling by the appeals court that he should be reimbursed. — Telegraph

‘R16m needed for returnees’

JOHANNESBURG. — About R16 million is needed to help 4 000 exiles ready to return to South Africa, but the exiles committee NCRR has no money. Their fund, which has already cost R54m, with 14 000 former exiles and political prisoners now battling with unemployment and a housing shortage.

The NCRR has requested the government to be interested in the repatriations. — Sapa

From page 1

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Mr De Klerk, reeling under sharp attacks on the government’s handling of the economy, will have to convince the caucus he is taking decisive action on the MI row as well as on the corruption in the independent states which was uncovered last week by the Parsons, De Meyer and Van der Heever commissions.

Hopes that obstacles are being cleared to make way for negotiations gained ground yesterday when the ANC’s “cabinet” adopted a discussion document that opts for a five-stage process of change and possible power-sharing with the ANC.

This means the ANC plan and the government’s proposals are now very similar and reinforces speculation that multi-party talks could resume soon.

The ANC’s proposals included the formation of transitional executive councils, as agreed at Codesa II, elections for a constituent assembly, the adoption of a new constitution and transformation of South Africa into a democracy.

Protest march: Bhutto arrested

RAWALPINDI, Pakistan. — Police arrested overnight Prime Minister Ms Benazir Bhutto yesterday after she and supporters broke through police barricades to lead a banned anti-government protest.

About 1 000 supporters of the PPP and Ms Bhutto and took her into custody, along with other politicians who once opposed but now support her bid to oust the government of Prime Minister Mr Nawaz Sharif. — Sapa-AP
President to meet Goldstone urgently

The full text of the statement made by President De Klerk yesterday in reaction to disclosures made by Mr Justice Goldstone after the raid on a Military Intelligence operations centre.

The Cabinet today gave thorough consideration to the statement which was released on Monday November 16 1992 by Mr Justice Goldstone.

There can be no doubt about the urgency of addressing, once and for all, the plethora of insinuations, allegations and accusations which are currently being levelled against the security forces. The climate of suspicion and recrimination which has been created by these allegations, by continuous propaganda and by the manner in which these matters have been dealt with by certain sections of the media, threatens the credibility of the security forces and complicates the peace-keeping role which they must play in the maintenance of order and public safety.

It is important to note that Mr Justice Goldstone's remarks were issued in the form of a Press statement and did not constitute an official report. Accordingly, many of the aspects contained in the statement have thus far not been tested within the framework of the normal procedures applied by a judicial commission.

The government will await the commission's official report, which, it is hoped, will provide it with a fully evaluated basis for further consideration and action.

In the meantime the government has decided on the following action:

I have requested a meeting with Mr Justice Goldstone as soon as possible to discuss with him:

- His request for further resources;
- The scope of his investigation; and
- The speedy completion of his present investigation to ensure that he will be able to submit his report expeditiously, with a view to appropriate consideration and action by the government as soon as possible.

I have, after consultation with the Minister of Defence and the Chief of the South African Defence Force, also given instructions that Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, the Chief of Defence Force Staff, should assume immediate command of all intelligence functions of the SADF, including the Division of Military Intelligence and the intelligence branches of the four services.

I have given him instructions to provide me with a complete and comprehensive analysis of all of the SADF's intelligence activities, and in the light of this analysis and any recommendations which he may make, to report to me as soon as possible on the advisability of restructuring these functions.

I have given further instructions to Lieutenant-General Steyn that he should, in conjunction with Lieutenant-General Alwyn Conradie of the South African Police, secure immediate control over all of the documentation of the Directorate of Covert Collection and that they should as soon as possible carry out a comprehensive analysis of the documentation to ascertain whether any activities have taken place which might be in contravention of the law or of government policy.

This process will take place in support of, and in conjunction with, the investigation which is currently being carried out by the Goldstone Commission. The findings of these investigations, which are relevant to the activities of the Goldstone Commission, will be placed at the commission's disposal. Likewise, any findings which are relevant to the activities of other judicial inquiries will be made available to the relevant authorities or to the appropriate investigating bodies.
Peace meeting is on despite hiccups

THE National Peace Committee’s crucial meeting next Tuesday is on again, in spite of last-minute hiccups.

Peace secretariat spokesman Mr Val Pauquet confirmed yesterday that the meeting would go ahead but declined to give details.

Committee chairman Mr John Hall has been engaged in intense shuttle diplomacy in recent weeks to ensure that the meeting is held.

Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki are expected to head their delegations. The government may be represented by Deputy Land Affairs Minister Mr Johan Schoepers.

Sensitivities are such that even the agenda is unlikely to be made public.

Unions join forces for peace

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party and three trade union organisations have decided to pool their resources to identify sources of conflict and work towards peace in support of the National Peace Accord.

In a statement issued after they met here yesterday, the IFP, the United Workers Union of SA, the United Metal Industrial and Allied Workers Union of SA and the United Co-operated Catering and Allied Workers Union of SA said they were appalled by the levels of violence. — Sapa

However, the stand-off between Inkatha and the ANC over the Natal violence is sure to be addressed.

The meeting will be crucial to efforts to arrange a meeting of National Peace Accord signatories, which could in turn give impetus to multi-party talks.
Goldstone to help in SADF probe

Political Staff

The probe by two generals into SADF intelligence activities will be conducted in co-operation with the Goldstone Commission, the government said yesterday.

Government spokesman Mr Dave Steward was addressing concerns raised by the ANC and the DP about the appointment by President F W de Klerk of Chief of Defence Force Staff Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn to recommend ways of restructuring the intelligence section of the SADF. The other general is Lieutenant-General Alwyn Conradie of the SAP.

It emerged at a news briefing yesterday that none of the heads of Military Intelligence departments have lost their jobs or been demoted as a result of Mr De Klerk's decisions.

The Directorate of Covert Collection would also continue operating, "but will now be under the direct command of General Steyn".

Mr Steward said seized DCC files could not be made public as they would compromise projects and "be a death sentence for some informants".

There would be "the closest co-operation" between the two generals and the Goldstone Commission, he said.
Goldstone to probe private armies

By CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Staff

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night agreed to the Goldstone Commission's proposed investigation into "all other bodies and organisations alleged to be involved in violence".

This follows a request by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone for the power to probe the role of the SADF, the SAP, uMkhonto weSizwe, Apia, the KwaZulu Police and certain security firms in violence.

United Nations Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali has also called for the investigation.

A brief statement from government spokesman Mr Dave Steward last night after an hour-long meeting between Mr de Klerk and Judge Goldstone said the SAP would make "sufficient personnel" available "to assist the commission without delay" with the investigation.

Any probe of the KwaZulu Police is bound to be strenuously resisted by the KwaZulu government, which has dismissed allegations that it has played a role in violence.

The PAC has also rejected any investigation into the activities of its military wing, Apia.

The ANC has, however, welcomed such a probe.

'Reservations'

It was also decided that Judge Goldstone would hold talks "as soon as possible" with SADF Chief of Staff Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn "to discuss the co-ordination of their activities with regard to the investigation of aspects of the activities of the Directorate of Covert Collection".

This should go some way towards addressing reservations of some organisations about a probe into an SADF unit by an SADF general.

The statement said it was also agreed that "every effort will be made from all sides to expedite an official report on the murder trial with Mr Justice Goldstone's statement on the hiring of convicted killer Ferdi Barnard by military intelligence for an operation designed to discredit the ANC of November 18."

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in a speech in the Eastern Cape township of Jona yesterday that he hoped General Steyn "would behave as a man of integrity" and expose an alleged army dirty tricks campaign against the ANC, Sapa-Reuter reports.
Most observed stayaway, by choice
UN mission blames violence on economy

Johannesburg. — The worsening economy and high unemployment were adding to heightened tensions and rising levels of violence in South Africa, particularly in unrest areas, according to the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (Unomsa).

In a summary released yesterday of the mission's activities for the period November 1 to 13, Unomsa chief Ms Angela King said this was apparent in many townships, squatter settlements, and hostels visited.

Community infrastructure had virtually collapsed, while extreme overcrowding and lack of safe water and sanitation were characteristic of the areas.

"To address these conditions, the National Peace Committee has established, in a few areas, socio-economic reconstruction and development subcommittees, to work with established agencies to launch reconstruction and development programmes," she said.

She also proposed the creation of a joint European Community/Unomsa task force on socio-economic reconstruction and development. — Sapa
Fifteen South African youths have been invited to the United States to attend a two-month course on conflict resolution, community organizing and non-violent change. The youths are participants in Leadership South, a multi-disciplined life skills programme.

They have been invited by Dr Dudley Weeks, the international director of FutureLinks in the US, to take part in a training programme from December 15 to February 15. “We need to raise R120 000 to send the youths,” said Leadership South founder, Mr Graham Phuppon. “We will try to raise money in the US and in South Africa.”

Team leader Mr Eldred de Klerk is already in America and assisting with fundraising, said Phuppon.

One of the youths, Mr Manto of Khayelitsha, said he had attended FutureLinks conflict resolution workshops in Cape Town. “I have already facilitated programmes using skills that I learnt,” he said.
Security forces welcome SDU plan

A JOINT SA Police and SADF statement has welcomed the envisaged "code of conduct" for Self Defence Units in the townships.

"This may even prevent SDU and MK members shooting members of their own ANC/ACP/Cosatu alliance, thinking that they're policemen," the statement said.

The statement said the perpetrators of violence, unlike the security forces, are "AK-47 wielding, uncontrollable, undisciplined, protection-money-taking groups launching their cowardly attacks from behind women and children.

The statement said the ANC had, however, conveniently failed to address the issue of the 194 policemen killed this year.

It said the ANC had failed to address the issue of:

MK/ANC members arrested in the Vaal for illegally being in possession of SAP and military uniforms, firearms, explosives and ammunition of Russian origin;

The ANC hindering police attempts to investigate and secure scenes of unrest-related murders and crimes; and

The recent acknowledgement by the ANC and Chris Hani that they cannot control elements within the SDUs."
Goldstone fears publicity

Own Correspondent

Johannesburg. - Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday he had become "terrified" of speaking out in public because of the extensive publicity being accorded his commission of inquiry into violence.

This followed weekend confusion over conflicting news reports concerning the outcome of his talks with President F W de Klerk on Friday to discuss his commission's powers.

Mr Justice Goldstone met French deputy Foreign Minister Mr Georges Kiejman at Bloemfontein airport yesterday, but neither would comment on their discussion.

Mr Justice Goldstone said he was "just terrified" about saying anything without careful and deep consideration.

His caution comes in the wake of his dramatic disclosures last Monday of a military intelligence plot to discredit the ANC and the involvement of convicted murderer and former CCB agent Perdi Barnard.

Following the ensuing outcry and calls for strong action to be taken, Mr De Klerk and the cabinet issued veiled criticism of Mr Justice Goldstone's method of disclosing damaging information.

Mr Justice Goldstone informed the President's office he was about to make the Barnard disclosures.

A Major identity crisis?
Johannesburg. — The attorney-general is considering a request to subpoena former defence minister General Magnus Malan to testify at the Dr David Webster inquest.

This follows evidence by ex-CCB managing director Colonel Joe Verster, who claimed he thought he told General Malan that CCB agent Ferdi Barnard confessed to killing the Wits University anthropologist on May 1, 1969.

This is the first time General Malan's name has been mentioned in the proceedings.

During earlier testimony Barnard's handler, Mr Lafras Luitingh, told the court that Barnard claimed he had shot Dr Webster to convince his superiors he had a role to play in the CCB.

Colonel Verster — who gave in-camera evidence on Friday — told the court that Mr Luitingh had told him of the confession shortly before he met General Malan.

According to the transcripts of his evidence, Colonel Verster said he thought he had told General Malan: "We think it was Barnard (who shot Dr Webster) because he has said so. But this is hearsay. I have no facts on which to base it."

He later told the inquest that Dr Webster's murder had been only one point on an agenda for a meeting with General Malan in July 1969.

Dr Webster's murder was a secondary concern during the meeting, but it was one of the factors which influenced the future of the CCB.

The meeting was mostly concerned with the CCB agents, who, it seemed to Colonel Verster, were being left in the lurch by the government after the Harms Commission.

Colonel Verster said Dr Webster's death emerged as a detail which influenced this discussion. Minutes after he said he had told the defence minister of Barnard's confession, he said he could not remember what specific information he had disclosed.

General Malan has previously denied that Colonel Verster informed him of Barnard's confession.

The David Webster Trust has written a letter to the attorney-general requesting that General Malan be subpoenaed to testify.

During the Harms Commission into alleged police death squads in 1990, lawyers acting for the trust also argued General Malan should be called to testify. However, he was not called to give evidence.

Meanwhile, a complaint against a Sunday Times report of Colonel Verster's evidence and General Malan's reaction has been referred to the attorney-general.

Mr J.J. Wessels, appearing for Colonel Verster, complained yesterday the Sunday Times story was substantially inaccurate and led to General Malan's comment which contradicted Colonel Verster's evidence.

This contravened the Inquest Act, which prohibited the publication of any information which could prejudice, influence or anticipate the finding of an inquest. The hearing continues. — Sapa
Tussle over who are
the authentic Zulus

A TUSSEL is developing within the Zulu nation between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party over who can claim to be authentic Zulus.

This has emerged from speeches and resolutions at the ANC's Southern Natal regional conference at the weekend.

The ANC challenge to the IFP and its leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi over who can speak for the Zulus is similar to the battle within the Afrikaners community over who can claim to be the real Afrikaners.

The inscription on leather briefcases handed out at the regional conference was: "The demon of tribalism must be buried" - the words of a past ANC leader Dr Pixley ka Isithathelo Seme.

Mr. Jeff Radebe, ANC chairman of the region, said in his address that Buthelezi had claimed "a distorted political status for himself personally and for the IFP in general in our region."

"He claims, for example, that his current position as Chief Minister in an apartheid creation is simply a continu-

ANC challenges the IFP and its leader
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi:

ation of his family history. This is a distortion of the past and he reacts emotionally whenever it is raised precisely because he knows that he is wrong."

Radebe said Buthelezi had tried to use ethnicity to turn people against the ANC in Natal.

"Particularly, he continues to abuse the position of the king, dragging him into party politics in a manner which does not befit his status as monarch," Radebe said.

ANC secretary-general Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa said the conference had to find ways to expose the fallacy put forward by the IFP and Buthelezi in espousing a narrow Zulu chauvinism.

On violence he said: "While referred to as black-on-black violence, Zulu-Xhosa ethnic conflict, or a power struggle between the IFP and the ANC, the reality is that it is a orchestrated, deliberate policy of Pretoria, using the army, the police and surrogate forces."

"
Goldstone to probe witness lies
21 killed in violent weekend of unrest

DURBAN. — Three people died in Umlazi near here yesterday, bringing the countrywide weekend unrest death toll to 21.

KwaZulu Police spokesman Colonel Moses Khanyile said four people were attacked in Umlazi's U Section early yesterday morning. Three died instantly.

Eight other deaths occurred in KwaMakutha, Umbumbulu, KwaMashu and the Sokhulu reserve near Mthubathuba at the weekend.

• On the East Rand, nine people, including a policeman, were killed at the weekend.

• In Nyanga, a gunman wearing a policeman's jacket was arrested after he shot at an Internal Stability Unit policeman yesterday.

• The hacked and burnt body of a man was found in Bekkersdal on Sunday night.

• Police and soldiers on Sunday raided the Vosloorus home of the general secretary of Operation Masakhane for the Homeless, Mr Keith Montsatsi.

• Police have seized an arms cache hidden in a cave on the Eastern Transvaal farm Rosenaugh. The farm belongs to Mr P Kruger, who was charged in connection with bomb explosions last year in the region. A man has been arrested. — Sapa
Mandela spells out conditions for peace meeting with Buthelezi.
Mandela’s conditions
Butheli Tlums down

NEWS

ANC sees free political activity as pre-condition for a meaningful IMF

CHIEF Mantosh Maloti

By Thembekile Makwe

Mandela’s conditions
Butheli Tlums down

NEWS

ANC sees free political activity as pre-condition for a meaningful IMF

CHIEF Mantosh Maloti

By Thembekile Makwe
Peace talks progress

Peace Accord signatories agree on 'way forward':

SPONTANEOUS applause broke out “as a positive strategy for the way forward was agreed on” after a crucial National Peace Committee meeting in Johannesburg last night.

In a statement after the five-hour meeting, the committee said consensus on the way forward in the negotiation process was reached.

“As a positive strategy for the way forward was verbalised and agreed on spontaneous applause broke out in the auditorium,” the statement said.

It was decided that NPC members would be given an opportunity to report back to their principals, the statement added.

The committee’s chairman, Mr John Hall, is expected to address the media today on the meeting’s agenda, “and conclusions arrived at”.

The meeting of the committee was to assess a report-back by Hall after weeks of shuttle diplomacy to revive the peace effort.

Alliance well represented

The meeting was also expected to map out strategies to call a meeting of all signatories to the National Peace Accord.

Although key senior officials of the ANC were absent, its alliance was well represented and so was the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose delegation was led by chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

The ANC delegation was led by Mr Thabo Mbeki.
FOCUS Plea for establishment of Joint Peacekeeping Unit

OUR country is on fire. This fire is like one that has consumed an entire town and many people have already lost their lives in it.

The fire is so bad that to mention it seems quite uncontrollable.

No single person or leader, however powerful, is able to order the fire to stop.

The fire is everywhere; it is not confined to any one region or area.

The fire is not just a natural disaster; it is also a symbol of national weakness and lack of control.

The fire is a result of the failure of the government to address the root causes of social and economic deprivation.

The fire is a call for action; it is not a situation that can be ignored or swept under the carpet.

We must act now to prevent this fire from spreading and destroying our nation.

Mnuchiyanye Stanley Mogoba, deputy chairman of the National Peace Committee, believes the creation of a Joint Peacekeeping Unit (JPU) - composed of personnel from sources such as the SAP, SANDF, MK, APLA, etc. - would go a long way to curbing violence.

forces have. A small group of 50 JPU members would be more effective than 500, or even 5 000 regular troops because it would include people in whom each of the various political and ethnic groups in our country can feel they can trust. For the first time, a security unit in this country would experience the co-operation of all the people.

While the setting up of the such a unit would be costly, it would be cheap at the price - much cheaper than the cost to South Africa’s economy of the constant violence and the terrible loss of human life.

The National Peace Accord would at last have real authority, with the power to hold the violence down while the other peace structures do their necessarily more time-consuming work of conflict resolution at national, regional and local levels.

As Bishop, National Peace Accord monitors, including chairman John Hall, Anton Goldhaber and myself, together with UN monitors, have to live in fear behind a camera while the Ciskei soldiers lost control and opened fire in all directions.

As I lay flat on my tummy while the bullet flew over my head, the thought came to me over and over again that if only a Joint Peacekeeping Unit had been in position to act as buffers, this disaster may not have been happening.

There would be two other benefits from the establishment of such a unit and both are going to be needed sooner rather than later. First, the Joint Peacekeeping Unit would be successful, it would provide an invaluable model for the ultimate creation of one peace force and one army for the new South African nation.

And, most important of all, a Joint Peacekeeping Unit would be the necessary time and stability for the constitutional talks, free and fair elections, and the anterior government which alone can ensure a democratic future for our land.

With such awesome power, South Africans of all races could finally look forward to seeing peace and harmony established in our beautiful country.

At this Christmas time, it is of utmost importance that we take this call for a Joint Peacekeeping Unit with the seriousness which it deserves.
Woman disrupts Webster hearing

Own Correspondent
Johannesburg. — The evidence of former CCB managing director Colonel Joe Verster, who is testifying in camera at the Webster inquest, was briefly interrupted twice yesterday by former women's rights campaigner Ms Adele van der Spuy.

She arrived at the Rand Supreme Court yesterday stating that she wanted to testify at the inquest.
She was twice escorted out of the court room where Colonel Verster is testifying behind closed doors in order to protect his identity.
Mr Van der Spuy, who said she was the ex-wife of a former judge, told lawyers and reporters outside the court room that there had been two attempts on her life.

She accused the CCB of being responsible and also claimed she could name the leaders of the "third force".

Witness box
She also claimed to represent South African taxpayers and the Bond Party, which she said had been registered as a political party in Pretoria last week.
Ms Van der Spuy left after speaking to lawyers representing various parties at the inquest.
Colonel Verster has been in the witness box for five days.
Cross-examination of the former CCB chief is expected to be concluded today.
He will be followed by former CCB co-ordinator Mr Lafras Luitlingh, who is to be recalled for cross-examination by Mr P Coetzee, SC, who is representing the SADF.
Mr Luitlingh earlier told the court former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard had confessed to killing Dr Webster in 1989 to win another contract with the covert organisation.
The hearing continues.
Only 15% of SA Killings Political
CP Councillor attacks judge

THE Goldstone Commission was turning into a super-monster, Conservative Party President's Councillor, Dr Servaes Latesky, said yesterday.

In debate on the PC's urbanisation report, he said the commission's reckless release of untested allegations had affected the integrity and of the security forces.

The way in which it had publicised so-called covert operations was unacceptable. — Sapa
Boost for faltering peace process

Inkatha and ANC agree to hold summit

NEGOTIATIONS and the stalled peace process were given a major boost yesterday when the ANC and Inkatha agreed to bilateral talks which would include leaders Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The agreement was struck at a national peace committee executive meeting on Tuesday night and confirmed by its chairman John Hall at a media briefing yesterday. It still has to be approved by the parties' principals.

At a separate briefing yesterday, Mandela said the ANC's national executive committee had endorsed the decision for its representatives to meet Inkatha to prepare for the summit between the two leaders, who have been at loggerheads for the past few months.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said yesterday Buthelezi had accepted the decision and the issue would be discussed at the weekend central committee meeting.

A multiparty conference would be one of the main items on the agenda of the bilateral summit.

Hall said his understanding of the decision was that the stalemate between Inkatha and government had also been broken. He added that much of the groundwork for the summit had already been completed and final preparations should not take too long.

Mandela said the preparatory meeting, which may be held by next week, would address the conditions set by both sides. On Monday Mandela set four conditions for meeting Buthelezi, who rejected them and presented an agenda for discussion.

However, at yesterday's briefing it emerged that this agenda was not Buthelezi's but the one thrashed out by Hall with Mandela, President PW de Klerk and Buthelezi in shuttle diplomacy since July.

The agenda issues to be finalised are the role of the SAP and the armed forces, the KwaZulu Police and Umkhonto we Sizwe; freedom of political activity; negotiations and the peace process; the suspension of mass action; the record of understanding between Mandela and De Klerk; and an interim peace accord for Natal.

Mandela said no date had been set for the summit but it would be "as soon as possible".

The peace committee also decided to convene an urgent meeting of peace accord signatories to review the peace process and institute more effective mechanisms. Hall said he was confident this would take place this year. Such a meeting was not contingent on the Inkatha/ANC summit, he said.

Hall was pleased with the large turnout at Tuesday's peace committee meeting. He had used the opportunity to confront the executive with the "ghastly" statistics of violence and the stagnating economy.

"I said that none of us could envisage four years ago that we would have been living in a country that looks like this.

"On seeing the statistics and reviewing the situation we decided that it wasn't an SA that any of us wanted to live in and we had to do something drastic to change the course," he said.

The statistics showed that new invest-

Summit

ment as a percentage of GDP had been below 5% since 1984 and was currently forecast at below 3%. Employment was running at half of the economically active population. He said police figures showed that 7 000-9 000 people were killed in politically related violence since January 1990.

The ANC's NEC said it was concerned that killings continued in spite of peace accord efforts and the exposure of the involvement of state agencies in violence.

Sapa reports that Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku, wrapping up a two-day visit to SA, said yesterday he was "most encouraged" to hear of the agreement on bilateral talks between the ANC and Inkatha, and he hoped all signatories to the peace accord would meet before Christmas, as a prelude to multiparty negotiations. He warned, however, that the momentum of constitutional talks appeared to be faltering.

Our political staff reports that NP peace committee member Chris Finner disclosed yesterday that an advertising campaign to promote peace would be launched on March 1. It would be "the biggest advertising campaign yet launched" in SA, with a budget understood to be about R6m.
Stats stun delegates

Alarming statistics, showing that up to 9000 people have died in politically related violence in SA over the 34 months ending in October, were shown to delegates at the National Peace Committee (NPC) meeting on Tuesday night.

The statistics, provided by the SA Police, showed that between 7000 and 9000 people had been murdered and 15000 seriously assaulted in politically related violence between January 1990 and last month.
Scoring points in a game of death

people's lives: ways for perpetrators of violence to be brought swiftly to justice

Joe Thloloesi's Perspective

The island state is no excuse. The ANC should not be off the hook. We should be held to account for our actions. We should be held accountable for the deaths of protesters. We should be held accountable for the violence that has been committed.

Joe Thloloesi is a South African politician and writer. He is a member of the Democratic Alliance (DA). He was a member of the South African Parliament from 2009 to 2014. He is also a researcher and writer on African politics.

QUESTION: What is the second name of the writer of the Perspective column published on Fridays? (7 letters in the answer)

E HUNT for CASH: Friday November 27

Fleming Pinnock
Call for greater UN involvement in curbing violence: (174)

PAN Africanist Congress president Mr. Clarence Makwetu yesterday welcomed the planned summit meeting on violence between African National Congress President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but expressed regret it had not taken place sooner.

Makwetu referred to his statement to the United Nations General Assembly on November 18, in which he said the PAC had reiterated its call for the exclusion or confinement, under international supervision, of mercenaries from Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and the former Rhodesia who were still in South Africa.

"Until and unless these mercenaries are expelled or confined, violence will continue unabated," he said.

Asked to amplify this statement, Makwetu said members of 32 and 31 battalions, Koevoet members, Renamo elements and former Rhodesian Selous Scouts were still in South Africa.

"These people must be expelled from the country or at least put under UN supervision," Makwetu said.

About the presence of UN observers in South Africa, Makwetu said he had told UN Secretary General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali that the UN observers should not merely observe violence and collect statistics, but be "pro-active in ending the violence".

"The most effective way the UN can contribute is to demand the immediate and verifiable expulsion of the mercenaries from our country or their confinement under international supervision."

On the PAC's proposed representative multilateral forum, to the exclusion of bilateral deals, he said this suggested body should have an independent, neutral, foreign chairperson.

The PAC negotiating team would meet a Government delegation on December 9 in Pretoria to discuss this more representative forum, Makwetu disclosed. - Sapa.
ANC stands by its conditions for talks

WILSON ZWANE

The ANC yesterday reiterated its position that a meeting between its president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi hinged on the resolution of problems around conditions the two had set for their meeting.

Sapa reports that Mandela—who is on a brief tour of Botswana, Mozambique and Namibia to brief the Frontline leaders on the state of negotiations—said in Gaborone such a meeting would serve no purpose unless it was certain to "produce results in addressing the question of violence".

Inkatha spokesman Sue Vos said the statement was "inopportune" when task groups had been formed to prepare for the meeting, but ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said Mandela's statement was consistent with the organisation's position.

Unless the task groups dealt with the conditions satisfactorily, there would be no point in the two leaders meeting, Marcus said. Vos said that as far as Inkatha was concerned, the meeting was still on.

Buthelezi had rejected Mandela's conditions for a meeting, which included a climate for free political activity in KwaZulu and a ban on carrying traditional weapons. Instead he insisted that specific items such as negotiations, the peace process and the suspension of mass action, be on the agenda. The ANC described Buthelezi's response as "belligerent".
Negotiations process and drive for peace converge

E VERY time innocent people have been killed in political violence on the Reef or in Natal, renewed calls have been made for IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela to meet.

Until this week, these calls have amounted to nothing. The reasons advanced by the IFP and ANC on why their leaders should or should not meet have been expanded or changed almost regularly after each massacre.

This has led a source to comment: “Nero is fiddling while Rome burns.”

The planned Mandela-Buthelezi summit may or may not lead directly to a lessening of fighting between adherents, real or supposed, of the two major factions.

But increasingly such a meeting, or a multiparty meeting, is being seen by political commentators as the key to progress in the stop-start negotiations process.

Commentators point out that the negotiations process is now undeniably being linked to the peace process.

Previously the Government and ANC argued that it was impossible to proceed with negotiations if the level of violence remained unacceptably high.

Some observers argue that the violence could not be resolved until an interim government has been installed. On the other hand, because of the violence, negotiations for a transitional government cannot proceed.

It took persistent efforts by National Peace Committee (NPC) chairman John Hall to break the logjam. On Tuesday night the breakthrough came after ANC and IFP representatives to the NPC agreed that their leaders should meet.

Earlier this month NPC sources complained bitterly that the ANC, and in particular the IFP, were “shifting the goalposts” of their conditions for a meeting of all signatories. Until this week the meeting of all signatories could still not be nailed down, largely because Buthelezi insisted on meeting Mandela first.

An all-signatory meeting will bring Mandela and Buthelezi together with leaders of the main parties and organisations to find a joint strategy for solving the Natal violence.

Politicians are regarding such a meeting as the likely route to bring Buthelezi back into multiparty negotiations. He suspended talks with the Government after it reached a bilateral agreement with the ANC.

It has been a long, hard road to the forthcoming summit meeting between the ANC and IFP leaders. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH looks at the history of the real and purported obstacles.

Chief Buthelezi ... no Government “surrogate”.

Mandela ... meeting of two individuals can’t end violence.

on September 26.

At the crux of the stalemate was Buthelezi’s insistence to meet Mandela before a multiparty meeting, while Mandela did not want to meet Buthelezi before the signatories met.

The dispute about such a meeting began when Buthelezi formally objected to the NPC about Mandela’s statement to the UN that the IFP was no more than a “surrogate” of the Government.

However, tensions began to simmer at the Codesa working group meetings where the IFP had problems accepting that sufficient consensus – the way agreements were reached at Codesa – meant in practice that the ANC and Government had to agree on a matter.

The tension between the IFP and some of the other negotiating parties finally bubbled to the surface when the Government and ANC reached an agreement in the Record of Understanding.

This prompted Buthelezi to suspend talks with the Government and to form a lobby, the Conference of Concerned South Africans.

Reacting to the calls for a meeting of the two leaders, the ANC has repeatedly said such a meeting would have to succeed because two earlier meetings had produced no results.

At a Patriotic Front meeting in Port Elizabeth last month, Mandela said: “The position of the ANC, which has been endorsed by the PF, is that this violence cannot be ended or reduced by a simple meeting between two individuals. What is required is the collective wisdom of political leaders across the spectrum, who should come together to address the matter.”

“I should also point out that I have gone out of my way over the last two years to sort out the question of violence with Chief Buthelezi, and there has been no progress.”

In the latest volley of “I’ll meet you, but ...”, Mandela said this week he was prepared to meet Buthelezi if he fulfilled four conditions, but Buthelezi rejected these preconditions, adding that he had only one: the agenda of the meeting should include specific items.

Unexpectedly, the deadlock was broken this week, but ANC sources have warned that preparations for the meeting would take some time.

The value of the meeting will be more than a symbolic get-together of two leaders – it could be one of the first steps to get multiparty negotiations back on track.
NEWSPAPER

R60m drive for peace

The national peace secretariat hopes to conduct a R60m advertising campaign, promoting the principles of the national peace accord, secretarial chairman Antonie Gildenhuyse said yesterday.

It hopes to achieve this target through donations, including the provision of free television time and print space.

The first phase of the campaign would start in February or March if everything went according to plan, Gildenhuyse said.
Men's Dances at the Hotel Langham.

The management of the Hotel Langham has made arrangements for a series of dances to be held in the hotel's ballroom. The first dance is scheduled for next Saturday evening, and will be followed by others at regular intervals. Details will be announced shortly.

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The management of the Hotel Langham is pleased to announce the opening of its new ballroom, which will be the site of the upcoming dances. The ballroom has been decorated in a fresh, modern style, and is equipped with state-of-the-art lighting and sound systems.

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The management of the Hotel Langham is proud to announce the appointment of Mr. James Smith as the new head of the hotel's bar. Mr. Smith has a wealth of experience in the hospitality industry, and is well respected by his colleagues and staff.

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The management of the Hotel Langham is pleased to announce the opening of its new restaurant, which will be serving a variety of cuisine from around the world. The restaurant will be open for breakfast, lunch, and dinner, and will be an ideal place to relax and enjoy a meal.

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The management of the Hotel Langham is pleased to announce the appointment of Ms. Elizabeth Green as the new director of marketing. Ms. Green brings a wealth of experience in the field to the hotel, and is well respected by her colleagues and staff.

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The management of the Hotel Langham is pleased to announce the opening of its new fitness center. The fitness center is equipped with state-of-the-art equipment, and is open to hotel guests and the general public.

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The management of the Hotel Langham is pleased to announce the appointment of Mr. John White as the new director of engineering. Mr. White has a wealth of experience in the field, and is well respected by his colleagues and staff.

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The management of the Hotel Langham is pleased to announce the opening of its new meeting rooms. The meeting rooms are equipped with state-of-the-art technology, and are ideal for hosting business events and conferences.

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The management of the Hotel Langham is pleased to announce the appointment of Ms. Sarah Johnson as the new director of human resources. Ms. Johnson brings a wealth of experience in the field to the hotel, and is well respected by her colleagues and staff.
ANC, IFP agree to preparatory meeting

A tough preparatory meeting between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party — aimed at thrashing out the organisations' preconditions for a summit between their leaders — is due to take place soon.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela said in Gaborone, Botswana, yesterday that a meeting with IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would serve no purpose “unless it was certain to produce results in addressing the question of violence”.

He said Chief Buthelezi had posed certain conditions for the meeting and “I have also put conditions”.

Mandela's conditions were the creation of a climate for free political activity in KwaZulu, that the ANC should be allowed to operate there, that IFP followers should be disarmed and Buthelezi should agree to the banning of weapons in public, and that hostels should be fenced off and regular searches conducted “because hit squads operate from there”.

Buthelezi has stated his precondition only as being that the agenda of the meeting should include specific items.

An IFP spokesman said yesterday clarity of such items could only surface during the preparatory discussions.

The decision to hold a preparatory meeting resulted from a breakthrough between the two parties at a National Peace Committee meeting on Monday.
MORE MEN TO HELP: My Justice Pitch: This generates more

THE GOVERNMENT SEES THE POWER

Godstone Gets the Power
Goldstone gets pledge on military documents

JOHANNESBURG — Mr. Justice Richard Goldstone met senior Cabinet ministers yesterday and won a pledge to have access to military information relevant to violence probed.

The judge said after the meeting with the Ministers of Defence and Justice, Mr. Gene Louw and Mr. Kobie Coetzee, and South African Defence Force chief General Kat Liebenberg, he had sought manpower and other resources for the commission.

"The government has agreed to its fullest cooperation with regard to the intelligence activities of the SADF, so far as they are relevant to the commission's mandate," a joint statement issued by the president's office say.

A member of the Goldstone commission, advocate Mr. J.P. Pretorius has been appointed by the commission to work closely with the military officer appointed to investigate claims of a military intelligence "dirty tricks" campaign against uMkhonto weSizwe exposed by the commission.

- Hopes for an end to political violence soared this week with the announcement that ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon.

The Goldstone committee probing attacks on train commuters postponed its hearing yesterday amid conflicting reports on the Miamlamuzi railway station attack. Committee chairman Mr. Gesi Steyn adjourned the sitting until January 25. — Sapa
NEWS  Political violence claims 29 lives in bloody weekend

Four whites gunned down at wine party

SA Press Association

Four whites were among 29 people who were killed in political violence at the weekend.

In the first known attack of its kind, black gunmen sprayed whites at a wine-tasting party in King William’s Town with automatic fire on Saturday night, killing four people and seriously injuring 17 others.

In Umulazi and KwaMashu, outside Durban, six people, including three members of one family, were killed in two separate attacks on Saturday night.

Two people have been arrested in connection with these incidents.

On the Reef, a black constable was shot dead at the Offishantsfontein police station near Kempton Park yesterday.

In Tshipise eight people, including a mother of two, died in a hail of bullets after unknown gunmen opened fire on passengers at a taxi rank near Oakmoor Station on Friday night.

On Saturday, six other people were killed in a hand-grenade blast during a stokvel party in a Sebenzeng house.

The man who handled the grenade was said to have been playing with it, threatening to blow everyone.

Predominantly white guests

The King William’s Town incident occurred at the Golf Club, where about 60 predominantly white guests were attending a wine-tasting party organised by the local wine-tasting club.

Police liaison officer Captain Nina Barkhuizen confirmed yesterday that two couples were killed and 17 people seriously injured.

She said the attack was the first of its kind since violence swept black areas since 1990.

Barkhuizen said five men threw hand-grenades into the dining room and bar and started firing R4 or R5 automatic rifles before escaping in a vehicle.

National Party MP for King William’s Town Mr Ray Radue, who attended the function with his wife, described the attack as “absolute carnage”.

Captain Craig Kotze, spokesman for Law and Order Minister Herman Kriel, said the police would do everything in their power to track down the killers.

Also in the Vaal Triangle, four members of a Vereeniging family were shot dead by unknown gunmen on a smallholding outside the town early yesterday morning.
Johannesburg. — The Conservative Party has decided to appoint a committee of experts to monitor "statements and actions" by the Goldstone Commission, the CP said yesterday.

"The CP executive council is concerned that our security forces are being uniformly portrayed in a bad light and the ANC as heroes."

The government's decision to co-operate with the Goldstone commission in monitoring the security forces was a "scandalous capitulation". — Sapa
Goldstone's probe team announced

Political Staff
THE names have been announced of the members of the Goldstone Commission who will hear five days of evidence in Durban this week on the causes of political violence in Natal and KwaZulu.

They are Mr Justice Goldstone, advocates Mr Neil Rossouw and Mr Solly Sitole, Mess Lillian Buswana and Mr Gert Steyn.

Evidence will be led by advocate Mr J J du Toit. Sittings began at 11 am today.

All the major political parties and several unrest monitors are expected to make submissions to the commission.

The hearing takes place in the Durban City Hall. It is open to the public, but some evidence could be led in camera.

Mr Justice Goldstone will prepare a formal report on the evidence.
300 praying for peace

Angels falls from the sky as about 300 people pray for peace in downtown San Francisco.

The prayer vigil was held at the Inter-Faith Complex, a central location for peace in the city. Among the attendees were members of the Inter-Faith Council and leaders from various religious organizations.

The event was organized by the Inter-Faith Council of San Francisco to promote peace and unity in the city.

Sign on top of the column reads: "Day of National Prayer".
Flying into Fire Ironace

[Image of an airplane landing on a runway]

Snar 3/11/12
Way smoothed for hostel fences

JOHANNESBURG.—ANC leaders in the PWV region and the Transvaal Hostel Residents Association (THRA) yesterday signed an agreement allowing for the fencing of certain hostels.

The agreement followed a series of meetings between the two organisations that focused on violence, upgrading hostels, and integration of hostel residents with the community.

However, the IFP has vehemently protested against the decision, saying it should have been consulted as many hostel residents were supporters or members of the party.

The THRA claims to be an independent organisation representing hostel residents, and insists that not all its members are members of the IFP.

The ANC and the THRA said agreement was reached on the need for a more accountable and inclusive process in the spending of R29bn allocated to hostels by the government, and that an important role was envisaged for the National Housing Forum.—Sapa
ANC, IFP talks crash

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

A preparatory meeting for the summit between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela collapsed on Monday because of an apparent misunderstanding.

The chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Frank Mdlalose, Mr Walter Pdlgate, Dr Ben Ngubane and Chief Simon Gumede arrived at the Royal Hotel early on Monday for the meeting with the ANC that was to be led by Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Jacob Zuma.

The IFP thought the meeting had been arranged last week at a National Peace Committee meeting, while the ANC delegation did not arrive.

Mdlalose issued a diplomatic statement saying: "For a variety of reasons the ANC was unable to keep the appointment." He said that he had spoken with Zuma over the telephone and that they had agreed that the meeting would take place on December 9.

The ANC said there was a breakdown in communication. "We were not aware of the meeting at all," spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said. "Nobody knew about it."

She insisted there was no sinister motive behind the ANC's action, and said "the last thing we would do" was fail to arrive at a meeting.
Apla’s claim could be a hoax

A claim by an alleged senior Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla) commander — that more King William’s Town-style attacks are imminent — could be a hoax, it emerged yesterday.

Sapa reported that “a top Apla commander”, Johnny Majoxi, said in a telephone interview from Harare that the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress was responsible for the weekend attack in which four people were killed and 17 injured.

He told Sapa: “There will be more attacks of this nature with more frequency, especially in white areas.” He said he found it surprising that “so much noise and police activity” could come as a result of the death of “only” four white people.

PAC deputy chief representative in Harare, Clayton Sibiya, could not confirm the reports. Majoxi was not in Harare yesterday and it was impossible for an Apla commander “to move through Harare without this office knowing about it”.

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel said yesterday until such time as there was clarity on the PAC’s stand on acts of terror by Apla, there could be no further dialogue with the Government.

At the recent meeting between the Government and the PAC in Gaborone, the PAC had committed itself to peaceful negotiation with further talks planned for next week.

Ecaza reports that one of the survivors of the attack was Mr Justice Michael Claassens, presiding officer in the controversial Sebe-Guzana inquest in Ciskei.

The judge said he was aware of speculation that he had been targeted but doubted this was the case. It was unlikely the killers would have known he would be there.
Women pray for peace

Mothers, wives and sisters who mop up the blood will wield swords of prayer:

By Sonti Maseko

A big prayer meeting, planned to be the last for this year and targeted at drawing in women of all denominations will take place at the Standard Bank Arena in Johannesburg on Thursday next week.

Prayers will focus on peace during the Christmas period and the theme will be Peace and Save the Children, the coordinator of the meeting Reverend Modalepula Chabaka said yesterday.

Chabaka said while prayer meetings in the past attracted women in the mainline churches, “this prayer meeting also needs to draw women praying at home, in school buildings, in the void under the bridges, all women among the Zionists and indigenous or home churches”.

Chabaka urged women in denominations on the Reef, who might need transport to get to the arena to urgently call (011) 337-9351/2/3/4. Buses will be arranged to pick up people from various points on the Reef.

“Because of the intensity of the violence, we have a crisis and women, as is demonstrated in the scriptures, must rise to the occasion.

Blade of the knife

“In our African culture, we have an adage that says the woman holds the blade of the knife in defence of her children and her life.”

The service will also be a healing experience for the women, “who often have to mop up the blood of their sons and husbands killed in the violence”, to sing, cry and pray in their African languages.

Children, men and women in and outside church organisations are also welcome to attend.

The meeting is sponsored by Sowetan, Radio Metro, Radio Zula, Radio Sekoteng, Jabula Foods, Pepsi Cola and Mathibe Printers.

Prayers will start at 2pm.
NEGOTIATIONS were now held hostage to violence in South Africa, the new US Ambassador, Mr. Princeton Lyman, said at Umzimkulu in Durban yesterday.

Commenting on violence in the country, Lyman said most people were concerned about increasing violence in South Africa and, for that reason, he thought negotiations should be supported.

Asked how the coming in of a new US government would impact on that country's foreign policy, he said he could not yet say much about that.
Talks 'held hostage by violence'  

The Argus Correspondent  

DURBAN. Negotiations were now held hostage by violence in South Africa, the new United States ambassador to South Africa, Mr Princeton Lyman said here.

He said yesterday that most people were worried about increasing violence in South Africa and for that reason he thought negotiations should be supported.

Mr. Lyman was in Umlazi to acquaint himself with the region and its socio-political dynamics. He met members of the Umlazi Local Dispute Resolution Committee and members of the Red Cross.

He said American relations with a new government would depend, among other things, on who president-elect Mr. Bill Clinton chose as secretary of State. This would affect America's foreign policy.
'Leaders whipping up hatred'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Both the ANC alliance and the IFP were responsible for serious criminal transgressions of the National Peace Accord, the Goldstone commission heard here yesterday.

National Party MP for Klipflier, Mr Jacko Maree, attacked the ANC, SACP, Cosatu and the IFP for contraventions of the accord, including provocative pamphlets, war-talk and criminal acts such as arson and assassination.

He strongly condemned "hard-line communist" ANC Midlands leaders Mr Harry Gwala and Mr Sifiso Nkabinde for having been "very active in stirring up violence and hatred".

He claimed the peace in Mooi River was shattered when moderate ANC leader Mr Derek Majola and his wife were murdered, possibly by his own organisation, and Mr Gwala "whipped up emotions" at their funeral, allegedly starting an 18-month spree of destruction in the Bruntville township.

"The role of Mr Gwala in instigating violence merits a separate investigation."

Pinetown DP MP Mr Roger Burrows, also attacked the war-talk of Mr Gwala and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying they failed to teach the democratic right of free association to their followers.
UN asked to aid Apla probe

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Goldstone Commission has appealed to the United Nations and the international community to assist in a full investigation into the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

The initiative, which the PAC flatly rejected, came amid strong signs that the promising talks between the government and the PAC were on the verge of collapse.

Cabinet sources said last night that the meeting planned with the PAC for next week would not go ahead unless there was a clear and satisfactory response from the PAC on the armed struggle and its relationship with Apla.

The PAC and the government were scheduled to meet again on Wednesday, December 9, but a statement on Tuesday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Heran Kriel, effectively cancelled the meeting.

The PAC's secretary-general, Mr. Benny Alexander, said yesterday: "We are still awaiting an official letter from the regime."

The government in turn is apparently waiting for a response from the PAC to Mr. Kriel.

The PAC has called an emergency meeting of its executive tomorrow following the international outcry over its stance on the Apla attack in King William's Town — but PAC director of information Mr. Waters Tobozi said yesterday it was the "regime's own inaction if they withdraw from talks".

Meanwhile, the National Party MP for King William's Town, Mr. Ray Radue, said that as long as the death sentence for killing remained suspended, South Africa would continue to have high rates of murder.

- And the HNP yesterday demanded the government arrest leaders of the PAC and put them on trial for making "provocative statements".

The HNP in a statement accused PAC general secretary Benny Alexander of "wanting to gain prominence for the PAC through the flow of white blood".

A man giving his name as Mr. Karl Zimbiri of the Apla High Command and claiming to be an Apla spokesman vowed yesterday to attack white suburbs in retaliation for every vigilant assault in black townships.
DURBAN. — Negotiations were being held hostage to violence, the new United States ambassador, Mr. Pringleon Lyman, said in Umlazi yesterday.

Mr Lyman visited Umlazi during a tour to acquaint himself with the region. He met members of the Umlazi Local Dispute Resolution Committee and the Red Cross.

Asked how the transition to a new government in America would affect his country's foreign policy, Mr Lyman said there was not much he could say now.

This was partly because president-elect Mr Bill Clinton had not yet chosen his secretary of state, an appointment that would affect America's foreign policy. — Sapa
‘Exiles targets of harassment’

DURBAN — Returned exiles, who came back into the country following the 1990 Memorandum of Understanding between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the South African government, are targets of various forms of harassment by members of the SADF, the SAP, KwaZulu Police and in certain instances members of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

This was evident in a report by the Natal officials of the National Coordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles, presented at the second sitting of the Goldstone Commission at the Durban City Hall this week.

NCCR Natal Coordinator William Leslie said: “Our legal department has been inundated with reports of severe assaults, arrests on false charges and harassment of the returnees and their families by members of the SADF, the SAP and KwaZulu Police.”

According to the NCCR report, 35 returned exiles have been arrested and charged with various charges including armed robbery and unlawful possession of firearms.

However, the commission heard, their arrest on these charges were mere excuses to have them in custody where they were severely assaulted and forced to divulge the names of the returnees living in their areas or give information on Umkhonto we Sizwe activities.

Some of those arrested have been refused bail with the State arguing that because they were returnees they might fail to appear for their trial. To substantiate these allegations, the case of Qeda Buthelezi, who is currently in custody for an alleged robbery, was cited.

NCCR paralegal officer Banquo Makhanya told the commission that Buthelezi was tortured by police and forced to divulge information about MK activities.

Although Buthelezi’s bail application is still pending, Makhanya told the commission that it would be turned down because the applicant was a returnee.

The report also indicated that returnees were not only victims of harassment but also were also killed.

In the past 12 months, at least 25 returnees have been killed under suspicious and brutal circumstances, according to the report.

Six were said to have been killed by the police and one by members of the SADF.

The report cited the death of Nkosinathi Sylvester Mahaso, for which an inquest is currently being held.

He was allegedly killed by members of the C R Swart murder and robbery unit at Ezingolweni earlier this year.

Police firearms have been confiscated and sent to Pretoria for ballistic investigation. — Sapa.
Alarm as attacks on security forces soar

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) said 74 people died and 128 were injured in the week November 25 to December 1. The death toll was up by 29 compared with the previous week, in which 45 deaths were recorded. "The past week was extremely disturbing," it said.

The HRC said the attacks on the security forces and the weekend attack on diners in King William's Town in which four people died and at least 17 others were wounded "can only serve to set back the course of peace and democracy".

In the past week, 39 people died in Natal, compared to 19 the week before. The death toll in the PWV was 3.

The HRC also recorded two train attacks in which one person was killed and 36 people were injured. — Staff Reporter.
Wanted: The Collective wisdom of all leaders

ANC president Nelson Mandela is a troubled man. Last week, after reading Perspective, he invited me to lunch to talk about the violence in the land and about a meeting between himself and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He argues that they have been over this ground before and that is why he prefers a meeting of "the collective wisdom" of all political leaders in this country to tackle the issue of violence.

He draws my attention to an agreement, which published in full below, between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party in January 1991. That agreement, according to Mandela, should have gone a long way to stopping the violence. Truth is that innocent men, women and children are dying out there. On Wednesday it was in Empangeni.

The agreement should have helped stop the carnage. It was an excellent document that should have laid the foundations for the peace we need desperately.

That failure was not a failure of ideas or of vision. It was rather a failure of will, a failure to implement.

This is not the time to point accusatory fingers at the ANC or the IFP and blame the one or the other for failure.

It is time to ensure that whatever emerges from the meeting a preparatory one is on December 9 is turned into visible action.

That is the challenge facing the two organisations. We all know the constraints that limit the range of solutions but we expect them to be creative within those limitations.

Agreement between the ANC and Inkatha, January 29, 1991

1. Both parties call for an end to the present violence in Natal and the Transvaal. They will take steps to prevent acts of violence and destruction among their members or carried out by their members and they will take action to deter other parties from instigating and carrying out acts of violence and destruction.

2. Both parties are committed to political tolerance and freedom of political activity. The ANC and IFP have the right to exist as political organisations with their policies and programmes. The parties will act to create a climate between them free of forced recruitment and vilification.

3. Both parties will act to ensure that all persons with authority over public facilities will allow their use by all people irrespective of their political affiliation. This applies to facilities such as venues and facilities specifically established for recreational and a variety of community activities.

4. In particular, both parties urge all the schools to normal learning and teaching and will take steps to ensure that no pupil is excluded from a school by virtue of political affiliation.

5. Both parties will ensure that all security force members would:

Act without political bias;
Receive professional and appropriate training as a peace-keeping force;
Act and function with due respect for the sensitive community situation that exists.

Siphiwe believes that it is essential that a reconstruction and development programme is expeditiously to reduce the potential for violence. This is particularly the case in Natal and in the Transvaal hostels. This programme must be above partisan considerations and be designed to meet the needs of all people irrespective of any affiliation they may hold.

The programme must give priority to displaced persons arising from the violence and take all steps to peacefully and effectively reintegrate divided communities.

Implementation:

In order to implement the principles agreed upon today the high level contact between the IFP and the ANC will continue through existing joint mechanisms. The initiatives charged with this task will, after due and proper involvement of local leadership and the grassroots structures, report to the ANC national executive and the IFP central committee on obstacles encountered and progress made in terms of the following brief:

Principle 1:
To develop practical steps to bring about an end to violence between the organisations in those regions, to facilitate local level peace initiatives and to act as crisis contact points. The committees must consolidate and implement existing local agreements such as the Lower Umfolozi Peace Accord.

Principle 2:
To ensure that all persons affected by Principle 1 are aware of this agreement and that they take active steps to implement it.

Principle 3:
The ANC and the IFP will coordinate in initiating and implementing non-partisan reconstruction programmes in areas devastated by violence.

All resources available to any organisation for re-construction work should be made available to those who are in need.

Principle 4:
To develop a code of conduct based on accepted principles and practices which do not impinge negatively on the rights of individuals and political groups and which are equally applicable to both organisations and all security forces in the country.

The two organisations also resolved to organise a joint tour by Mandela and Buthelezi of all affected areas.
SOUTH AFRICA has been shaken by another weekend of violence, including the killing of four whites in a grenade and gun attack on a wine-tasting dinner which threatens to give a new dimension to the political conflict.

At least three gunmen, including two black youths, carried out the attack at a golf club in King William's Town, a small industrial and agricultural centre in the eastern Cape's volatile "Border" area. Two white couples died and 14 other people were injured.

In other violence at the weekend eight people were killed in a gun attack on commuters waiting at a taxi rank in Thembisa township.

Four members of one family were shot dead on their smallholding outside Vereeniging, and six people were killed by a hand-grenade at a party in Sebokeng.

At the same time, controversy is growing around disclosures by the Johannesburg Sunday Times that the ANC had sent at least 1,000 recruits to its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) out of the country for military training.

Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, confirmed on Sunday that the training was taking place — in Western and Asian countries — but insisted that the de Klerk administration knew about it.

"That is something we told the government in February last year," he said at a rally outside Pretoria. The disclosures are controversial for several reasons. If President de Klerk did know of the training programme there are likely to be questions as to why it was not publicly disclosed. The Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is expected to react angrily in view of his demands that MK be disbanded as a precondition for constitutional negotiations.

The local National Party MP, Ray Radoc, who attended the dinner with his wife, said they had just finished the meal when two or three men walked into the entrance.

"One offensive hand grenade was rolled into the dining room and a defensive grenade was thrown into the bar area, at a table where two black members of the King William's Town Golf Club were seated," he said. "The assailants then opened fire with an automatic weapon, or weapons... the result was absolute carnage."

A petrol bomb was also thrown at gas cylinders outside the clubhouse, but failed to detonate them.

Whites blame the Pan Africanist Congress — identified with the slogan "one settler one bullet" — for the attacks. The PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, has been attacking the police force and is held responsible for a large proportion of more than 200 killed this year.

A caller claiming to represent the military wing of the PAC told police that the APLA had carried out the attack.
Self-defence committees for Azapo

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

The Azanian People's Organisation will form defence committees throughout the country to defend black communities and enable the organisation to operate and project its views within the black communities. Azapo deputy president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said yesterday.

He said members of his organisation's self-defence units would be drawn exclusively from Azapo, to avoid having in their ranks people who were "not disciplined."

At its four-day congress in Port Elizabeth last weekend, Azapo resolved to mediate in taxi disputes, and educate both taxi drivers and owners "on the sanctity of black life."

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said his organisation remained committed to the maintenance of sanctions and the cultural boycott, and would stage pickets against the current Indian cricket tour.

Mokae said Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala, at present lecturing at Cambridge University in England, was winding down his business in that country to return home.

Mosala would visit Zambia, where he would hold talks with the Zambian government in an effort to get South African Kaizza Cebekhulu released from prison. Mokae said Azapo was continuing with its investigations into the death of Dr Abu-baker Asvat, and that Cebekhulu's evidence would be crucial.

Cebekhulu was allegedly abducted and taken to Zambia.
Ex-ANC leader up for attempted murder

JOHANNESBURG — A former ANC regional secretary in the Eastern Transvaal and two trained Umkhonto we Sizwe members have been arrested in connection with a hand grenade attack on a private home last month.

Before arresting MK member Mr Derrick Mpumheku Skosana, police shot dead a man who attempted to throw a grenade at them.

Earlier this week, MK member Mr Nelson Mnsi and ex-ANC regional secretary Mr Joseph Harold Nkuna surrendered to police.

A 17-year-old youth was also arrested after police found a hand grenade and ammunition in Mr Nkuna’s house.

The three men and the youth appeared in the Nelspruit Magistrate’s Court yesterday on attempted murder charges.

● Two South African policemen were killed in Natal on Thursday night.

Detective Constable V Dhlamini was killed and his wife seriously injured in a hand grenade attack on their Inanda house.

The other policeman, who died in a hand grenade attack on his KwaMashu home, had not yet been identified.

● Five magisterial districts in the Western Transvaal have been declared unrest areas. They are Vryburg, Delareville, Marico, Rustenburg and Lichtenburg.

The decision may have been taken in view of fears of disruptions during this month’s independence celebrations in Botshwana.

● Police have arrested a hostel resident following an attack on commuters at a Johannesburg station last month.

● In Randfontein, near Heidelberg, three policemen were injured when a hand grenade was thrown at their vehicle while they were trying to disperse a crowd of about 200 people on Thursday night.

● A truck was petrol-bombed and destroyed at the Lwandle Hostel near Strand on Thursday afternoon.

● Vereeniging policeman Lance-Sergeant Jacobus de Bruyn was wounded when the two occupants of a bakkie fired shots at his vehicle yesterday.

● The Palm Springs Civic Association has blamed Thursday’s murder of Dr Helga Kuhn on the “isonti” element which was “tearing the Vaal Triangle apart.”
Black deaths, white deaths –

All are South Africans.

Africas' worst nightmare in a decade.

Johnson

Shaun

Affairs

Undercurrent

Africas' worst nightmare in a decade.

The world we made, we have to love it. We can't go back.

The world we made is the world we see. We can't go back.

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The world we made is the world we see. We can't go back.
1992 death toll up by 38%

JOHANNESBURG. — The death toll this year in political violence in South Africa has increased by 38 percent compared to last year, the Human Rights Commission said. ARCT 11/2/92.

In its November report on political violence, the HRC said that 3,324 people had died since the beginning of this year until the end of November.

— Sapa.
Rights group calls for ANC deaths probe

JOHANNESBURG. — The German-based International Society for Human Rights has called for an investigation into the deaths of opponents and critics of the African National Congress.

In a letter to President P.W. de Klerk, a copy of which was also sent to Mr. Justice Richard Goldstone, ISHR secretary-general Mr. Robert Chamber said it was essential that "unsolved assassinations and murders be thoroughly investigated."

The ISHR referred to the murders of Mr. Bartholomew Hlapana and his wife who were killed after giving evidence on ANC funding to a United States Senate hearing; as well as the deaths of Mr. Chris Hani’s former bodyguard Mr. Sipho Phungulwa, and Mr. Giraffe Mibempu. — Sapa
Drop in political deaths reported

POLITICALLY related deaths dropped to a nine-month low of 283 in November, according to the latest Human Rights Commission (HRC) report on repression.

HRC national director Sadoora Sadek said the declining number of killings could be attributed to the increased presence of international observers at potential sites of conflict.

She said there had been a noticeable shift in violence from the Transvaal to Natal and this trend could be reinforced by the return of Transvaal hostel dwellers to Natal over the festive season.

While the 114 people who had died in the PWV was below the 1992 monthly average of 161, a total of 123 had died in Natal, the report said.

Of the 283 killed in November, 140 had been victims of violent actions, while the security forces had killed three and injured 38, it added.

At least 3,324 people had been killed in violence during 1992 — about 38% more than the time last year, the report said.

A total of 17 security force members were killed in November and a further 12 were injured in 31 separate incidents, the HRC said.

Meanwhile, a total of 461 members of the police force have been killed since President F W de Klerk’s February 1990 speech, police statistics show.

A police spokesman said yesterday the 1992 death toll of 289 policemen represented a 66% increase on last year’s figure of 145 deaths, while the figure was almost double that for 1990, during which 107 policemen had been killed.

Sapa reports from Durban that a man was killed in KwaMashu early yesterday, bringing to at least seven the number who had died violently in the greater Durban area at the weekend, police said.

Policeman did kill ANC man

MARBUTBURG — A police warrant officer, 39-year-old Hendrik Steyn, was convicted yesterday of murdering an ANC member and attempting to murder another, both reputed to belong to a self-defence unit.

In his judgment in the Mariburg Supreme Court, Judge Page sharply criticised Steyn’s commanding officer, Capt Joseph Erasmus, for the conduct during the investigation.

The judge said it was deplorable that a commanding officer of a unit, out of a misplaced loyalty towards one of his members who committed a crime, neglected his honesty and duty as a policeman to see that justice was done.

Furthermore, he had doubts that the mishandling of the case was limited to the commanding officer, as the whole unit refused to stand at an identity parade.

The judge ordered that his remarks be forwarded to Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe for any action he sees necessary. — Sapa

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PEANUTS

I'M NOT YOUR SWEET BABBOO!!

EXCUSE ME CHARLIE BROWN, WHAT WERE YOU SAYING?

AND THEN NEXT YEAR I THINK OUR TEAM CAN...

By Charles Schulz

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Investec Holdings Limited
ANC will not smash Apla - Macozoma

ANC will be guided by human rights provisions and the law.

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

AN ANC government will not hunt down Apla and crush it, the movement said yesterday, responding to comments reportedly made by one of its senior officials in Namibia yesterday.

The ANC's Mr Sakkie Macozoma said yesterday that it was not his movement's official policy "at this stage" and that it was premature to speculate now.

"We have said that we condemn what Apla is doing, because we don't think it is necessary to attack people on the basis of their colour.

"As to what measures we will take, we cannot say now.

"An ANC government will obviously be guided by provisions for human rights and unity process," Macozoma said.

He was reacting to a comment reportedly made by an ANC official who accompanied Mr Nelson Mandela in Namibia yesterday.

The official was reported by the French news agency, Agence France Presse, to have said that an ANC government would not tolerate terrorism.

"We will lock them up. We will find them and lock them up. We will smash them," the source reportedly said.

Widespread condemnation of Apla's alleged attacks in the Eastern Cape last week continued yesterday.

The Organisation for African Unity, the Commonwealth and political parties in South Africa all condemned Apla's actions and the PAC's "failure to rebuke its armed wing."
Violence is neither black nor white

By Sonti Msheko

Much as the two attacks against civilians allegedly by the PAC's military wings Apia - are distasteful, they have sent a message to whites in the country that violence was not only a problem of the black community.

Several callers condemned the attacks last night on the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show. Others said the King, William's, Town and Queenstown attacks confirmed perceptions that this society valued white lives far more than black lives.

Fears were also expressed by some about a possible rightwing backlash, but one caller said the Azanian People's Liberation Army attacks could be a backlash against confirmed killings of black people. Other callers wanted to discuss problems in the music industry and education.

"The more the rightwing moves to the right the more the left will move to the left. I deplore their actions (Apla) much as I deplore the rightwing or the security forces involved in violent acts."

Duba, Kwathema

"Apia attacks will have more negative consequences than anything else. It will increase racial tension and we will have revenge attacks and the sad thing is that more innocent black people will die."

Tampon, Harare Park, Cape Town

"Although it looks like the crisis in education is over, it has only begun. A week after minister Abe Williams (education and culture in the House of Representatives) agreed to withdraw the rationalisation programme, his boss (state president De Klerk) said rationalisation would go ahead."

Booyue, Newlands, Johannesburg

"Blacks have been dying and their blood has been flowing for a long time. We have never heard the State President appealing to the outside world to condemn or support their killers like (it is doing) with Apla."

Nada, Johannesburg

"Benny Alexander was evasive and did not answer any question put to him (on television, Sunday night). My impression is he is connected to this Apia story that is why he did not want to give the story."

Sammy,
Violence level drops in November

JOHANNESBURG. - Political violence in South Africa reached its lowest level for nine months in November, but was still up on last year's death toll, two monitoring groups said.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) put November's toll at 263 deaths, the lowest since February's 234.

But the figure was above 1991's monthly average of 215 deaths, the HRC said, putting the running total for the year at 3,324 deaths, 30 percent up on last year's comparable figure.

The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), which has often clashed with the HRC, put the death toll for the year up to the end of November at 3,324, and said that on current trends, the final toll for the year would be 18 percent up on last year.

The SAIRR said that by the end of the year, nearly 15,000 people would have died in political violence that broke out in September 1994, initially as clashes between police and the black community.

Since 1987 the violence has been fuelled by a power struggle between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress.

About two-thirds of all deaths since 1984 had occurred in the last three years, since ANC leader Nelson Mandela's release from jail in February 1990 and Inkatha's decision in July 1990 to become a political party. - Sapa-AFP.
Next Goldstone probe targets arms

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The Goldstone Commission's next inquiry is into the illegal importation and distribution of automatic weapons and their use in South Africa in the furtherance of political violence.

These hearings are to be held at the University of Cape Town tomorrow and on Friday.

The commission has just completed hearings in Pietersburg concerning the taxi wars in Alexandra and is to resume a final hearing in Durban on Monday into the causes of violence in Natal.

This will wrap up the hearings of the Goldstone Commission this year.

The team will get the ball rolling again on January 4.

An inquiry into the truth of allegations made to a weekly newspaper by Joao Cuna, a former member of Ferdi Barnard's Civil Co-operation Bureau cells will continue next year.
National agreements ‘have not helped quell violence’

THE national peace accord, the Codesa declaration of intent and five bilateral accords between the ANC and government had failed to reverse the growth of violence, the SA Institute of Race Relations said yesterday.

The country was going through its second worst year of political violence to date, with 2,954 people having died in political killings by the end of November, the institute said.

This represented an 18% increase on the 1991 number, institute figures showed.

The Human Rights Commission earlier this week said political deaths had dropped to a nine-month “low” of 263 for November — well above the 1991 monthly average of 215 deaths a month.

Institute spokesman Paul Pereira said SA’s worst year of violence remained 1990, when 3,699 people were killed.

The institute said fatalities in political violence since September 1984, when political killings started on a large scale, would probably reach more than 15,000 by the end of 1992.

“Nearly two-thirds of all deaths in political violence occurred in 1990, 1991 and 1992,” the institute said.

Pereira said the institute believed violence would be combated more effectively if the national peace accord was amended to prohibit “peoples’ war” and the struggle to make the country ungovernable.

He said other steps that could be taken included:

☐ The renunciation by churches of the Lusaka Declaration in which SA churches said liberation movements had been compelled to use force to fight apartheid;

☐ Enforcing ruthlessly the ban on weapons including those displayed in public;

☐ A decision by the state to respect the rights of both boycotters and non-boycotters during stayaway actions;

☐ Public commitment from political leaders supporting the right of people to participate in or abstain from political actions;

☐ The replacement of the R1 rifle used by the SAP’s Internal Stability Unit (ISU) with a less lethal weapon;

☐ Increasing the minimum age of ISU members from 21 to 25.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Durban that a man was shot dead by unknown assailants at the KwaMashu hostel on Monday evening.

Hearings on arms smuggling

LOYD COUTTS

THE Coldstone commission would hold public hearings tomorrow and on Friday on ways to curb the importation of automatic weapons into SA, the commission said yesterday.

The hearings will be held at the Breakwater campus of the University of Cape Town.

A police spokesman said most AK-47s were brought into SA from Mozambique and Swaziland. Most of the weapons, often sold by former Frelimo soldiers, ended up in Natal, the eastern Transvaal and the PWV between R500 and R1,500.

A liaison forum for the SAP and Mozambican government officials had been established for high-level contact on the issue of arms smuggling.

Police had confiscated 7,938 illegal firearms up to October 10, including 2,854 rifles (with AK-47s), 2,227 pistols and 2,157 revolvers. The confiscated weapons were destroyed, the police spokesman added.
Beware the monster that is breeding in our minds.
PAC firm
in spite of criticism

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday pulled out of all further talks with the PAC following the Azanian People's Liberation Army's "declaration of war" on white civilians.

A defiant PAC responded by vowing not to abandon its military wing, or the armed struggle.

The PAC also effectively opted out of multi-lateral talks by announcing it would not join Codesa and warned that the decision by the government and the ANC to revive the negotiating forum would be "the greatest threat to peace and stability".

As the Conservative Party last night asked its supporters to report for the party's "Home Guard" to help counter Apla's planned terror campaign against soft targets, police in Pretoria asked the public to be particularly safety-conscious during the holidays.

As criticism of the PAC continued yesterday, one of the organisation's staunchest allies, the Zimbabwean government, warned the PAC to stop issuing statements on violence from its territory.

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira said: "We have warned the liberation movements, especially the PAC, to stop using Zimbabwe soil to make such statements... We do not want Zimbabwe soil to be used for hostile activities against South Africa or any other country."

As the Commonwealth, the European Community and the United Nations joined growing criticism of the PAC, the South African representative of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr Legwaila Joseph

From page 1:

Legwaila, said a decision on whether to continue funding the PAC will have to be taken by OAU secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim.

The PAC's tough stance on its Apla ties was criticised by the OAU, which said it supported efforts to achieve peace and not the propagation of violence.

Chief Emeka Anyaoku, the Nigerian secretary-general of the Commonwealth, yesterday strongly condemned PAC military wing violence as a threat to people of all races in South Africa.

The PAC's secretary for political affairs, Mr Jaki Seroke, said today's scheduled talks had been cancelled on Pretoria's instructions.

The government also told the organisation no further talks would take place until the PAC's attitude towards Apla had been satisfactorily clarified.

He added: "If talks should be based on good behaviour, in the prevailing violent atmosphere in the country nobody should be talking to anyone."

"Until there is mutual cessation of hostilities between the PAC and the regime, the PAC is not bound to condemn the armed struggle conducted by Apla against the settler enemy structures," he said.

Referring to meetings with the government in Nigeria in April and in Botswana in October, Mr Seroke said the PAC's position had been frankly put.

PAC publicity and information director Mr Waters Tobeli said Apla was an integral part of the organisation and the PAC would not abandon it despite possibly endangering talks.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said the agreement between the government and the ANC to revive Codesa was insensitive, provocative and short-sighted.

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) said yesterday the white victims of the attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown were victims of a war and their deaths deserved no more attention than those of black victims of violence.

The Pan-Africanist Students Organisation (Pasos) announced its support for Apla and warned President F W de Klerk any attempt to take action would start "the mother of all battles".

Mr Nick Mitchell, executive director of the United Kingdom/South Africa Business Association, yesterday appealed to the ANC to "go beyond condemning" Apla, and help the security forces reduce or eliminate the new threat.
Honour peace undertaking, Meyer tells PAC

Political Staff

LINES of communication between the government and the Pan-Africanist Congress could remain open but the PAC would have to honour an undertaking binding it to peace before talks could resume, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said today.

He was speaking after the government cancelled talks due to have taken place with the PAC today.

The PAC has claimed that the government knew what its attitude was to its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), and the "armed struggle".

Mr Meyer said the PAC had committed itself to the effective suspension of violence in a joint statement after a meeting with the government in Botswana in October. On the strength of this the government had been willing to continue talking to the PAC.

The organisation had now been told today's meeting had been shelved because its leadership refused to distance itself from acts of terror by Apla.

The PAC should not expect to be drawn into constitutional talks while it had a dual approach to negotiations and violence.

The PAC is insisting that its "armed struggle" will not be abandoned in spite of the breakdown of talks with the government.

The organisation has re-emphasised its links with Apla and says that if the government wants to cancel today's talks, it is "their own indaba".

The Pan-Africanist Students' Organisation has meanwhile announced its "unwavering support for military operations" conducted by Apla and warned President de Klerk that any attempt to take action against it will start "the mother of all battles".

PAC secretary for political affairs Mr Jiki Serope said the PAC could not abandon "armed struggle" until the objectives of the struggle had been realised.

Until there was a "mutual cessation of hostilities" between the PAC and the government, the PAC did not have to condemn Apla, he said.

"If, as they say, talks should be based on good behaviour, in the prevailing violent atmosphere nobody should be talking to anyone."
back on personnel

Press ahead with talks

Our enjoy vision SA to

SADF forced to cut

Shaken in the SAP

Any matters

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Death toll at worst over past three years

JOHANNESBURG. - More people died in political violence in South Africa in the past three years than in the period between September 1984 and 1990, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The institute, which revealed that more than 16,000 people had died in political violence in the country since the outbreak of violence in Natal in 1984, said nearly two-thirds of those deaths occurred in the past three years alone.

And on present trends, the institute said, the country was likely to end 1992 with 18 percent more deaths in political violence than last year. It said nearly 3,000 people had died in political violence from January to the end of November this year.

The institute said that while politically-related deaths for 1991 had dropped by 27 percent compared to 1990, that declining trend had already been reversed.

That was in spite of five bilateral agreements and two multilateral accords, namely, the Codesa Declaration of Intent and the National Peace Accord.
Women set to pray for peace

South Africans react with anger to the violence taking place daily, but a prayer meeting at the Standard Bank Arena from 2 pm to 4.30 pm today will be a way to react peacefully. (LJD)

Thousands of women from church groups and women's organisations are expected to attend the meeting, project co-ordinator the Rev Motialepula Chabaku said yesterday. The theme of the day of prayer is "Women calling for peace to save the children".

Transport will be provided from pick-up points in the PWV area. If you wish to attend, and need transport, contact Chabaku at (011) 337-9331/2/3/4. — Staff Reporter.
Death toll drops

By PAUL STOBER

DESPITE the Azanian People's Liberation Army's declaration of war on whites, the Human Rights Commission has reported a significant decrease in the number of incidents of political violence in South Africa.

In the past week the death toll in political violence was only 19, after an average of more than 60 deaths a week for the past nine weeks.

In Natal, the scene of some of the worst political violence, the toll dropped from 30 last week to 12 this week.

No train attacks were reported for the first time in nine weeks and no security force deaths were reported, compared to 14 deaths last week. This was despite three reported grenade attacks on security force members. The commission said security force actions had resulted in 18 injuries but no deaths.

One person reported to have died in police custody this week was brought down to 117. The number of deaths in police custody this year

The commission noted that further temporary immunity was granted to a number of African National Congress leaders, who are key to the negotiation process, for another three months.
Bomb attack puts more pressure on de Klerk

PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk is under pressure to take action against the Pan Africanist Congress after a bomb attack on a restaurant in which 19 whites were injured, five seriously, writes our Correspondent in Johannesburg.

The second random attack on whites within one week turned attention from bilateral talks between the African National Congress and the government, in which progress appeared to have been made towards restarting multi-party constitutional negotiations in February.

The rightwing Conservative Party said the government's failure to take action made them responsible, and the ANC described the bombing as "the work of desperadoes who are not confident of pitting their strengths against other parties in a democratic election which they realise is imminent." Police blamed the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army. It followed its reported threat to kill more whites after the gun and grenade attack two weeks ago on a winetasting dinner in nearby King William's Town, which left four whites dead.

The government and the ANC, meanwhile, were optimistic at the end of their three-day meeting at a secret rendezvous. In a statement, they said they had agreed on "the need for a speedy movement from the current situation to a democratic dispensation".

- Two British women, one a young mother on holiday, were found murdered last week on a remote beach in northern Natal. They are thought to have been raped and their bodies thrown into the sea before waves washed them back.
Goldstone told of disciplinary action

CAPE TOWN — The ANC had undertaken to investigate fully and discipline officers or structures if they were proven to be involved in the illegal importation, distribution and use of weapons, the Goldstone commission heard yesterday.

Peter Harris, for the ANC, said the organisation and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe remained committed to their undertakings in the 1991 D F Malan Accord which prohibited armed attacks, infiltration of cadres and material, creation of underground structures, statements inciting violence, threats of armed action and military training outside SA.

The ANC recommended that a special unit comprising investigators from the ANC, Inkatha and security forces be established by the national peace secretariat to investigate illegal arms imports and that the unit's progress be monitored regularly by the Police Board.

Louis Vasser SC, for Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, asked that the commissioner's terms of reference be extended to investigate all illegally possessed firearms and all forms of politically-related violence, not only political violence which was also public.

He said neighboring countries should be obliged to curb the inflow of illegal weapons from their territories through international treaties and, failing their cooperation, appeals should be made to the SUN and the OAU.

Earlier, Pierre Rable, for the SADF, also called for broader terms of reference to include an investigation into "pseudo-operations", in which attackers pretended to be security force members.

ANC officials stand accused

DURBAN — Seven men, including ANC officials from the upper south coast, appeared briefly in the Durban Regional Court yesterday in connection with the deaths of 24 people at Mphumulo in the Umbumbula area during October.

South coast ANC organiser Siboniso Darlington Magwegeni, Folewani ANC chairman Elias Mthuze and three members of his committee were among the accused.

The case against the seven men was postponed until February 11.

Warder admits helping princes escape

THE prison warden who helped "Blue Light" gang members to make a break for freedom was yesterday sentenced to seven years in prison.

Warden A. M. Steytler, 25, who had been convicted of fraud, escape from prison earlier this year, pleaded guilty yesterday to charges of defeating the ends of justice, forging official documents and assisting in their escape.

In a confession made before a magistrate earlier this year, read out in court yesterday, 24-year-old Annelies Nel admitted he and a policeman accomplice, former Sgt Lucas Cornelius, helped the men escape.

Schultz and Webb had promised him R100 000 for his help and, after initially refusing to take part in the scheme, Nel had agreed.

Nel said his parents had been about to divorce, leaving his mother destitute, and he would have used the money to support her.

Schultz's girlfriend had telephoned him to say that a policeman whose name was "Shane" would collect the two men from prison.

But Shane failed to get in touch with him and Nel decided to find his own policeman. He asked Cornelius, who was stationed at the Norwood police station, to join the scheme.

Nel obtained documents authorising the temporary transfer of a prisoner to police custody for questioning, and got Cornelius to sign them.

Schultz and Webb were "transferred" on January 30. Two days later they admitted they could not pay the promised R100 000.

Webb handed himself in and Schultz was arrested in Cape Town.

The State withdrew charges against Schultz, who was to have stood trial with Nel, and the case was postponed until February next year, pending a psychiatric evaluation of Nel.

Lindum Reefs Gold Mining Company Limited
Goft does not discount cross-border raids on Apla

PRETORIA — Government would not rule out cross-border pre-emptive raids to combat Apla actions against SA civilians. Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel told a media conference yesterday.

He estimated the size of Apla to be about 120 people and said it had bases in Transkei and Zimbabwe.

He said government was not "looking for trouble" with its neighbours, but had a responsibility to protect its citizens.

A cross-border raid would be the last resort and government would not do it unless it possessed hard facts.

He said he was pleased by the Zimbabwean government statement ordering Apla to stop making claims regarding its criminal actions from Zimbabwean soil.

Kriel noted that Transkei leader Mpilo Bantu Holomisa had made a similar statement.

The ANC, in a statement yesterday, said threats of cross border military action were "totally unacceptable".

"It is irresponsible, unstatesmanlike and provocative in the extreme. It lends credence to the argument that agents provocateurs may be responsible for the acts of terrorism in the eastern Cape region, the intention being to rationalise an attack on these territories."

"These misgivings are reinforced by the raid conducted by the SAP on the ANC regional office in East London, ostensibly looking for Apla members and the unconfirmed arrest of three ANC members.

"An attack against Zimbabwe would destabilize the entire southern African region, including the delicate peace process in Mozambique," it said.

It said ANC president Nelson Mandela would raise the matter at the special emergency meeting of the Frontline states in Harare today.

Meanwhile, an Apla commander, Vuma Nkuna, said in Umtata yesterday that Apla had several bases in SA, particularly in the PWV area. He said attacks launched by Apla on the Reef, including the deaths of several policemen, proved the army had bases in the PWV area.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the PAC said after a meeting with the DP in Johannesburg yesterday it recognised the destructive effect of violence and "in particular the killing of innocent civilians", but adamantly refused to distance itself from the attacks on soft targets in King William's Town and Queenstown.
Thousands come to pray for peace

Children tell audience about violence children have to go through
Burial societies to talk about killings

By Joshua Raboroko

The 120,000-strong National African Co-operative Societies of South Africa (Nacssa), representing burial societies, women's and menhohiso clubs, is to hold its second annual conference at Bird Centre in Soweto on December 13 starting at 9 am.

The theme of the conference is Peace and Stability - Effects of Violence on Burial Societies. Issues such as unemployment, drought and the recession will be addressed.

The association has chosen this theme in response to the large-scale violence which has also seen some of its members being killed.

"We want peace and stability among our people," said Nacssa chief executive Mr Sam Muofhe, explaining why they decided on the theme.

"Stop this carnage," Muofhe appealed. "This violence has caused misery to many black families."

Members of the association had died in acts of violence at an average of two a week since last November and unless something was done very urgently "the toll will increase," he said.

Most of the victims were in the Transvaal. The association was now also operating in Natal.

Nacssa had paid out more than R100,000 to bereaved families through its burial scheme between December last year and November this year.

"Apartheid has devastated not only South Africa but southern Africa and we are all paying the price," Muofhe said.

"We are concerned at this bloodbath that is at the doorstep of every family."

"It is important that peace and stability be restored in our country. We must talk peace and discipline to our children, spouses and relatives.

"We must explain how painful it is to die in transit, being and even in our homes."

"If we are to achieve peace, it is essential that every household be imbued with the spirit of unity among our people," Muofhe said.

"He believed it was not the job of political leaders alone to stop the violence but the responsibility of every citizen."

The conference would also look at the problem of unemployment that has left thousands in abject poverty, especially in the rural areas.

According to statistics compiled by the Urban Foundation, there are between four to six million people who are unemployed in South Africa, the majority of them blacks.

Muofhe said membership of the societies was declining because many people could not afford to pay their monthly subscriptions.

Most parts of southern Africa were ravaged by the worst drought which has brought misery to many.

"Cattle have died in their hundreds because of the lack of grazing. Only a massive relief effort can prevent millions of people from starving" Muofhe said.

One of the highlights of the conference will be the appearance of the Reverend Joe Tshwane and the Discover Develop and Expose Singers, who will sing to remind all about the people who died in the senseless killings in the black community.
Tyrants have led us up Garden Path

We have believed for too long that violence works, writes Sarah Cooper
Political Correspondent

THE PAC and the Democratic Party yesterday pledged to work “as a matter of urgency” towards achieving an end to violence and a “comprehensive cessation of hostilities” in South Africa.

However, the parties warned after a meeting held at the PAC headquarters in Johannesburg that the current strife could not be divorced from a political settlement.

The two delegations headed by PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and DP leader Dr Zach de Beer held wide-ranging discussions on the political situation in the country.

In a joint statement read afterwards by Mr Makwetu, the parties noted that they both “recognise the destructive effect which violence, and in particular the killing of innocent citizens, has on the creation of such a climate”.

Saying the PAC reiterated its preparedness to discuss the cessation of hostilities, Mr Makwetu said it was also necessary that a multi-lateral forum be convened to decide on the modalities for electing a constituent assembly.

“Both (parties) view the convening of a multi-lateral forum to decide on the modalities for electing a representative body which will draw up a new democratic constitution as an important step both in resolving the issue of violence and achieving a political settlement,” the statement said.

The parties discussed the recent attacks in King William’s Town and Queenstown, but were not able to reach “an agreed view” on these events.

“(But) in a more general discussion on the urgent need to bring violence to an end, we did find considerable common ground.”

Sapa reports that when Mr Makwetu was pressed on the question of Apia’s complicity in the attacks in King William’s Town and Queenstown, he retorted that his organisation would not subject itself to trial by the media.

“The PAC is on record as saying we are committed to the cessation of hostilities. Any day the regime is prepared to talk to us, we are ready,” he said.
SADF ‘can’t do task’

By YVETTE VAN BREDA

THE SADF could not carry out its task to the best of its ability due to a shortage of necessary equipment which stemmed from operating within a shrinking budget, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

The full Commission, chaired by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, is hearing submissions in Cape Town on the illegal importation, distribution and use of automatic weapons in South Africa.

Mr Pierre Rabie, for the SADF, said the SADF’s role in the importation, distribution and use of illegal arms, included manning border posts, promoting border patrols, and manning roadblocks at probable weapon influx routes.

The SADF had to operate within a shrinking budget which lead to a shortage of necessary equipment and resulted in them not being able to perform their tasks on a larger scale. There was shortage of roadblock equipment and apparatus to trace weapons, ammunition and explosives on persons in vehicles or buildings.

To make searches easier, Mr Rabie asked that the commission recommend definite rules regarding the packing of vehicles which would make inspection easier.

Weapons brought in by refugees from Mozambique and Swaziland in all probability is sold for cash or food. This could result in a criminal element selling weapons for profit as well as possible influx on behalf of paramilitary groups or organisations.

He also called for broader terms of reference to include an investigation into “pseudo-operations”, in which attackers used security force uniforms, insignia and similar vehicles to create the impression they were security force members.

Mr W L Wepener, for the South African Police, told the commission that covert intelligence and infiltration operations were essential to combat the import and distribution of weapons. There were 11 covert anti-crime units already operating throughout the country.

Wepener said problems relating to the use of illegal firearms for political purposes could only be effectively addressed through a political settlement.

The Commission heard that 711 people had been killed and 809 injured by AK-47 assault rifles alone during incidents of political violence from July 1, 1991 to November 30 this year.
The National Peace Committee is planning to launch a R100 million marketing campaign for peace by March, following a R3m peace campaign in the press and on radio and television over the holiday season.

The campaign, to be directed by advertising agency Hunt, Lascaris free of charge, is the largest advertising project of its kind commissioned by a South African institution, according to industry sources.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said yesterday the campaign was designed to boost the peace process by stimulating grassroots initiatives and publicising the peace accord.

A 16-member subcommittee, which included advertising executive Mr Reg Lascaris and Sowetan editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste, was planning the campaign, he said.
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National peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said yesterday the campaign was designed to boost the peace process by stimulating grassroots initiatives and publicising the peace accord.

A 16-member subcommittee, which included advertising executive Reg Lascaris and Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste, was planning the campaign, he said.

The main campaign was expected to be launched towards the end of March and, depending on donations of media space and time and on sponsorship for materials, could amount to "in excess of R100m", he said, adding that earlier reports of a R60m campaign had been "misleading".

Peace committee spokesman Val-Paquet said the R3m campaign to be run over Christmas would launch the committee's new slogan "Peace in our land" and would ask the question: "What are you doing for peace today?" A peace song recorded by SA musicians would be used in the campaign and the hymn Silent Night would be incorporated in festive season advertisements and a print advertisement which would be carried in most newspapers.

The March campaign would include information on how to use national peace accord structures and would launch a "peaceline" which people could phone to report incidents of violence.

Paquet said the committee was also searching for a new symbol to replace the present graphic depicting people sitting around a table. The new symbol was likely to depict two doves.

She emphasised that R100m was a projected amount as the funds had not yet been raised in full.
WORK FOR PEACE: WOMEN URGED LEADERS

Strange "..."
Covert Action Best

Steve Smith - Cover Photo

Arms Smuggler Trap

Bop to cut

Sentences

3 1/4

24

Snail

The Star Friday December 11 1992
R100-m to be spent on peace

By Carina le Grange

As much as R100 million in sponsored funds would be spent on peace over the next few months, National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said in a statement yesterday.

Gildenhuys was responding to what he called a "misleading" report on a R60 million marketing campaign.

He said the facts were that a media campaign of R3 million, which had been donated by the press, TV and radio, would be launched this Christmas to communicate the objectives of the National Peace Accord.

It was expected that the main part of the peace campaign would be launched at the end of March. This could amount to more than R100 million, but would depend on donations of media space and sponsorship.

Gildenhuys said there would also be production and market-research expenses of about R1.6 million.

Panel to probe claims against SAP

Peter Fabritius
Political Correspondent

A permanent independent board chaired by a judge to investigate allegations of misconduct against the police is to be appointed early next year, Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel said yesterday.

Kriel said at a Pretoria press conference that the Cabinet had already approved the legislation to establish the board.

It would probably be tabled early in the next session of Parliament starting at the end of January, he said.

Kriel said the board would be chaired by a judge and run by an attorney-general.

It would have its own inspectors to investigate allegations of criminal conduct against the police.

He confirmed that the board to be launched next year was the same as the committee he referred to in August when he announced a package of measures to improve the image of the SAP.

He said that then the committee would fall under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Justice and not the Minister of Law and Order who controls the SAP.

It would thus be independent.
DP and PAC resolve to help end violence

By Kaizer Nyaswamba
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Democratic Party yesterday committed themselves to creating a climate conducive to negotiations, but failed to reach an agreement on last week's attacks on whites in the eastern Cape.

In a joint statement issued after a three-hour meeting in Johannesburg, the two parties said they recognised "the destructive effect which violence, and in particular the killing of innocent citizens", had on the creation of a climate in which negotiations for a new democratic constitution could take place.

"Both (the PAC and DP) will work towards achieving the ending of violence and a comprehensive cessation of hostilities as a matter of urgency. The PAC in particular reiterates its preparedness to discuss the cessation of hostilities with all concerned.

"Both agree that the matter of violence cannot be divorced from that of a political settlement," the statement said.

The DP and the PAC said they viewed the convening of a multilateral negotiations forum to decide on elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution as an important step in resolving the problem of violence and achieving a political settlement.

Although last week's attacks on white civilians in King William's Town and Queenstown were discussed, no agreement was reached on this issue.
Can SA resolve its crisis of violence without international assistance? The civil war developing in Natal, the spiral of random violence in many other parts and bickering among political leaders suggest not. Establishing a transitional government would go a long way towards helping the parties to reach acceptable solutions but it might not be enough to keep SA on the road to a peaceful transition to democracy.

So far, all the main parties have resisted any role for international monitors beyond observer groups and participation by observers or investigators in the activities of the National Peace Commission and the Goldstone Commission. However, growing acceptance — by government in particular — of the credentials of the UN, the OAU and the Commonwealth, could open the way for increased involvement.

Though SA cannot be compared directly with other southern African trouble spots of the past two decades, international intervention has had reasonable success, since Zimbabwean independence in 1980, in ending conflict in the region and overseeing free elections. Zimbabwe, Namibia and Zambia are good examples, with Angola and Mozambique now regarded as failures.

Douglas Anglin, political science professor at Ottawa’s Carleton University, says in terms of the number, variety and scale of foreign intervention initiatives undertaken, southern Africa has been at the forefront “serving as something of a laboratory for the continent and the world.”

Speaking at a conference in Tanzania earlier this year on peace and security in the region, Anglin said international monitoring of the peace and democratisation processes became essential in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique “once the parties reached the point where they were prepared to abandon a military solution in favour of a political settlement.”

His paper was published recently by the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape. Though he spoke before the Angolan election and subsequent crisis, as well as the signing and subsequent collapse of the Mozambique peace accord, Anglin’s comments on what are essentially the prerequisites for success give clear indications of why the two countries have reverted to conflict.

In Angola, as in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Zambia, the major parties were committed to the electoral process because they believed they could win. But unlike the other three, the outcome of the Angolan presidential election was indecisive, which cast doubt on the fairness and freeness of the process, resulting in the resumption of hostilities.

In Mozambique, Anglin argued, a “major disruptive element” within the peace and monitoring process was the Renamo leadership’s total lack of any sense of commitment or consistency.

The success of the transitions in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Zambia did not imply that international monitoring was unnecessary, but rather underscored the value of independent outside observers in ensuring free and fair elections.

Though Anglin did not discuss SA in detail, his general comments indicated the possible value of international mediation in ending SA’s conflict — especially in Natal, where government appears powerless to play the role of honest broker.

There is little doubt that, to avoid an Angolan-type situation, intensive foreign monitoring of SA’s electoral process will be essential to ensure acceptance of what is likely to be a close outcome. But ending the violence is obviously a far more pressing problem and one for which the international community has started to develop special skills. Anglin said the move beyond “conflict settlement” to “conflict resolution,” especially in southern Africa, was “highly significant.”

While similar in concept, the two functions differ. Conflict settlement seeks to modify the behaviour of parties by ensuring agreement with a set of agreed rules, whereas conflict resolution involves changes in attitudes, goals and values to eradicate the underlying causes of strife. “It goes beyond the preoccupation with the technical provisions of a treaty, to a concern for the spirit required to give it life.”

Two issues are of particular significance: the integration and re-orientation of rival security forces and the broader question of national reconciliation. “Neither issue is the exclusive responsibility of international monitors, though monitors have been instrumental in promoting conflict resolution initiatives in each of the spheres.”

Anglin says the world still faces formidable challenges in southern Africa, including possible roles in SA, Lesotho and Malawi. But “whether the international community is capable of demonstrating the imagination and commitment to seize these opportunities when they present themselves is by no means certain.”
A newly-formed shadowy Cape group this week threatened a campaign of assassinations to stop the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), and the AWB.

An anonymous caller told SOUTH this week that unless political organisations "stopped their nonsense", their leaders, including PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander, would be assassinated.

The threat follows two bombing incidents for which Apla claimed responsibility.

The attacks — one in King Williams Town and one in Queenstown — left five people killed and 34 injured.

The caller said 20 people, most of them former SADF members and some of them snipers, had attended a meeting in Cape Town on Monday night where an organisation called the Civil Protection Group was formed.

"Avenge"

He declined to give his name or a telephone number where he could be contacted.

"The purpose of the Civil Protection Group is to avenge innocent people who are killed in bombings," the caller said.

"We are going to start eliminating the instigators from the top, starting with Benny Alexander and Eugene Terre Blanche. It doesn't matter whether it's the PAC or the AWB or the Boerewolf Party, we will take revenge."

Asked whether he thought it was correct to avenge violence by using violent means, the caller said the group was being forced into taking such action.

"The simple reason why we are doing this is that we want these people to stop their nonsense. "Every time an innocent person is hurt the government does nothing about it."

Meanwhile two sources who are close to the PAC said Apla's terror campaign against whites was an expression of the deep conflicts within the PAC rather than an attempt to step up armed resistance.

The sources told SOUTH this week that deep divisions exist between three camps within the organisation.

The sources said all attacks claimed by their military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), should be seen in this light.

According to one source, these attacks "are primarily concerned with sending a sharp, clear message to any PAC leaders who are interested in negotiations."

"Since the ANC and the NP's secret talks where they agreed to revive Codesa, there is considerable concern among many people in the PAC that others in the organisation were preparing to join in these negotiations. To many, this is unthinkable," he said.

There are believed to be three main camps within the PAC:

- the "liberal African nationalists" who believe the PAC has to negotiate or find itself completely in the cold politically.
- the "radical Africans" who believe it is impossible for the PAC to successfully negotiate for freedom with a "settler regime"; therefore liberation can only be attained through the barrel of a gun.
- an "in-between" group which believes that it is important to directly influence negotiations while at the same time retaining the ability to strike uncompromisingly at the government.

The "liberal African nationalists" are said to be led by deputy president Advocate Dlqang Moseiko, publicity officer Mr Barney Desai, secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gona Bhehlin and head of human resources Mr Mark Shinnens.

"The PAC's student wing, Papp, is a main force driving the radical Africans. Mr Thami Mohloli, who wrote a series of militant articles last year for Apla's publication, "Azanian Combat" is a key theoretician for this grouping, according to the sources."

The "in-between" position is allegedly headed by PAC president Mr Clarence Makewutu, secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander, secretary for political affairs Mr Jack Simole and ex-Apla chief Mr John Son Mambou.

According to one source, the bombings "tried to roll back the gains made by the liberal group. After the PAC's exploratory talks with the government in Abuja, Nigeria, and again in Gaberone, Botswana, the organization was set to join a revitalised Codesa beginning next year."
MUTES TO MUZZLE GUNMEN

M. J. (7/11/72)

Over Correspondent

Cape Town — The Gold

COSMOS RACE MEETING REVIEW

From our pages of prominent speakers

M. J. (7/11/72)
HARARE — Seven Frontline states yesterday called for an end to violence in South Africa, warning that it would derail negotiations and delay the formation of a nonracial and democratic South Africa.

But the seven states - Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe - refrained from specifically condemning attacks on white civilians by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and the refusal of the PAC to dissociate itself from the attacks.

Condemned

A communiqué issued after the summit, which was attended by ANC and PAC representatives - condemned violence generally and urged "all parties to go to the negotiating table". At a press conference after the day-long summit, Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira was emphatic that the issue of Apla terror attacks had not been discussed.

Anticipating the direction of a question from Saturday Star he said: "No, that was not discussed."

Ernst, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe called on the Frelimo and the Inkhatha Freedom Party to form a united patriotic front against President F W de Klerk's administration.

On South Africa's alleged attempts to intervene in Angola and subvert the democratic process, the communiqué said: "The summit views with growing suspicion the apparently renewed military activities of the SADF in southern Angola and condemns violations of the airspace of Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe by South African aircraft."

In a statement last week, the De Klerk administration denied that South African aircraft had violated the airspace of Angola.

Associated with the spectre of a fresh round of fighting in Angola are the alleged contraventions of the airspace of four Frontline states - Angola, Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe - by South African aircraft. The summit expressed "disappointment and amazement" at the refusal of Unita's stand, urged Saimbili to "respect the democratic process" and counselled him to join the government formed by President Jose dos Santos on December 4.
Kriel warns Apla of hot pursuit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa would consider raids into Zimbabwe to attack bases of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, which has declared war on whites, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

"That would be the last resort," Mr Kriel said in answer to a question at a news conference. "Obviously we would not like to do anything like that, we are not looking for trouble with our neighbours."

The minister estimated that there were 120 Apla members trained in Zimbabwe, and Transkei, inside and outside South Africa.

On denials by Zimbabwean and Transkeian leaders that Apla guerrillas were trained in their countries, Mr Kriel said they did not know what was happening in their countries.

An Apla commander, Mr Vuma Ntikinca, said on Radio Transkei yesterday that Apla had several bases in South

From page 1

Border

Africans, particularly in the PWV area.

Mr Kriel said any decision to take cross-border action against Apla would have to be taken by the State President and cabinet.

"I cannot say that we will or will not consider cross-border raids, but it is also fair to say that it cannot be ruled out."

Mr Kriel would not be drawn on which countries the government believed was financing the PAC, which in turn provides funding to Apla.

He said the matter was being investigated and that it would be taken further by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Kriel said it had been made clear at meetings with the PAC that the armed struggle would either have to be suspended or terminated for the PAC to become part of the negotiation process.

"We cannot negotiate with guns on the table next to us," he said.

He said that the PAC, by supporting Apla's attacks on civilians, was effectively excluding itself from negotiations for an interim government.

- The Conservative Party said yesterday that there was no reason why the SA Defence Force should not mount hot pursuit actions into Transkei to destroy alleged Apla training bases.

- Church leaders are seeking an urgent meeting with the PAC and Apla.
SA experienced horrific year — Idasa

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA experienced a "horrifying" year in 1992, Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine said in his year-end assessment yesterday.

The breakdown of Codesa negotiations was followed by a display of petty politics, he writes in the latest Idasa journal "Democracy in Action".

"We have witnessed a sickening increase in violence which has left thousands of South Africans dead and many more thousands injured. Thousands have been displaced," Dr Boraine said.

Disclosures had also been made of massive corruption in the government and the so-called homelands.

"Lying and deceit by people in high places in the SADF have apparently become the norm and in almost every instance, no one has had to accept the blame for this abuse of power," he said.

Amnesty International also disclosed widespread abuse of fundamental human rights in ANC camps.

"As if this catalogue of woes is not enough, the cold-blooded attacks on King William's Town and Queenstown have seen the South African conflict cross a new threshold.

"The posturing by the leadership of the Pan-Africanist Congress in regard to these attacks is unacceptable," he said.

Dr Boraine said the announcement by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of plans to adopt a regional constitution was "irresponsible in the extreme" because inherent in this proposal was the threat of secession.
FOCUS Why does the OAU allow America to usurp its function?

WHILE SANTA CLAUS GIVES... I TAKE!

WATCH OUT!

focus on Somalia

"C" by Nerka, CVE "Was it poet
Hussein Madamegan who
wrote these lines?
Or was it Mal Bone as he
sang the赞 over the Niassa Ac
cent when he also said "Wass hanger to gen
t that you had to eat the crumbs from the tables of
these brutes!"

These thoughts have been haunting me since
US troops landed on the shores of Mogadishu in
a blaze of publicity.

In a nutshell, this is what has been given me
sleepless nights: Where the hell is the Organisa
tion of African Unity (OAU), that body that
brought together all African nations to preserve life
and lands on the continent?

Somalia disintegrates

We have witnessed, as if in slow motion, the
disintegration of Somalia.

Rare scenes, as one was put it, walking
through streets that looked like death
warmed over, were paraded on international
newscast screens day in and day out.

Buildings, once the seat of government,
are now in ruins. The streets are deserted.
And the OAU did nothing. And more and
more people died. It was left to Rome to
give the world a clear message on the
catastrophe.

And so we see today American forces landing
in Mogadishu as a blaze of publicity and
the gunshots resounding throughout the
city. It is the nightmare of a nation
These American forces land in Somalia and
disturb the peace. They are cheered by the
masses, in Somalia and across the world.

And the OAU is nowhere to be seen. Is it
impossible for the OAU to ensure an army
that could go into Somalia and do what the Ameri
cans did?

I always thought that African women were signifi
cant in any respect but the soldiers were always
there. How do African leaders feel when they
see Africans covering before foreign men
and their women?

What are the psychological effects of this
disaster by America? After the gunshots fired
from the scene, we see silence not being
heard.

A Somali, in disagreement with the military
intervention in his country, argues with a
heavily armed US Marine in Mogadishu.

A force must be in place to stand up and speak
about what has happened. The soldier must be
chased away by strangers and foreigners, but
the captain says he is full of "bravery."

It was the picture of the man that really
mended my soul. The US soldier was standing
in a stadium that has been attacked by
the OAU, as far as I am concerned.

But they were not there. Instead, here at
home, we see an OAU representative, Mr
Lekgwasi, talking loudly about what has
happened.

OAU concerned about peace

The OAU, he said, is concerned about
peace and life. Hence their condemnation of the
King William's Town attack. But still, they are
concerned but not focused on the Sudanese
forces who have effectively killed thou
sands.

Principles thrown overboard

Long-standing principles and policies of the
OAU and its commitment to the
peace and security in the
region are being thrown overboard.

What happened in King William's
Town is not the only event.

OAU concerned about peace

The OAU, he said, is concerned about
peace and life. Hence their condemnation of the
King William's Town attack. But still, they are
concerned but not focused on the Sudanese
forces who have effectively killed thou
sands.

One could go on about the OAU and speak
about Liberia, Mozambique and Sudan. But the
OAU needs to be concerned about its own
interests and principles.
DP calls for urgent talks with ANC

RAY HARTLEY

RELATIONS between the ANC and DP have hit rock bottom following the ANC's alleged disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha near Cape Town on Tuesday.

DP regional secretary Jasper Walsh yesterday wrote to the ANC demanding an urgent meeting, and called for strong disciplinary action against ANC members who disrupted the meeting.

DP spokesman Ken Andrew said relations between the two parties would sour unless satisfactory answers were given to DP demands and the "undoubted involvement of ANC members in the disruption".

He said the meeting between the DP and ANC, if it went ahead, would discuss the incident in detail and try to establish an understanding regarding future DP meetings in the township.

Our Political Staff reports that ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak yesterday withdrew his accusation that Apla had been responsible for the disruption at the meeting, saying it was based on "a genuine misunderstanding".

However, Boesak added that the anger at the meeting seemed to have flared when DP MP for Wynberg Robie Carlisle said the DP had never been involved in violence. "A statement from people who are seen as armchair politicians who chose the soft option of the triomreal parliament is outrageous in its insensitivity," Boesak said.

The PAC had earlier rejected Boesak's efforts to shift the blame for the disruption to Apla, saying it did not "have a problem with political organisations organising meetings in the townships".

Carlisle said ANC claims not to have been behind the demonstration were questionable because prominent ANC member Nkantshana Hlangana was involved in "continuously and vocally" in the disruption.

The ANC has claimed Hlangana was sent to the meeting to try to keep events under control, but Carlisle said she had been involved continuously and vocally in the violent disruption of the meeting and had not exercised any authority to prevent the violence.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation would investigate the disruption and take "the necessary action" against ANC members found to have participated in the disruption.

Andrew said the disruption resulted from ANC concern at the DP's rapidly growing coloured and black membership.

"There is an awareness that down the line, the DP will be a serious contender for a significant chunk of black support. There are very many black people who do not favour a militant, hostile approach to politics," he said.

Unlike most SA political parties, the DP did not carry the baggage of apartheid, violence, intimidation and socialism, he added.

The DP was experiencing "very rapid and very significant" growth in the coloured areas of the western Cape where it now had about 40 branches.

Membership in the black areas was "trickling in" but this would be boosted by an end to intimidation, he said. "In some townships, the DP youth has to function as an underground organisation."

DP membership in the Free State was overwhelmingly black and the party was beginning to establish itself in the northern Transvaal, he said.

A third of the delegates attending a recent DP national congress in Johannesburg were black, he added.

"The ANC will be judged, in the final analysis, by the party's line utterance, not so much by the activities of its members and supporters," he said.

SA judge may head Transkei's Apla inquiry

RAY HARTLEY

TRANSKEI would probably appoint an SA judge to investigate claims that Apla had launched attacks on civilians from bases in its territory, Transkei leader Maj-Gen Buta Holomisa said yesterday.

"It is the right of Transkeians - not just the Transkei Defence Force - to defend themselves. Our public has been sensitized, they know what to do," he said.

Contingency plans had been drawn up to cope with SADF incursions into the homeland, he said. However, Holomisa explained the hope that government would not contemplate going ahead with the raids, which have been condemned by the UN and the patriotic front.

He said the police commissioners of SA and Transkei were in contact and he had advised government it could reach him at his office if it wished to discuss anything with him.

The recent war of words between himself and Inkatha leader Manto-suthu Buthelezi over Inkatha's threat to secede if a federal constitution was not adopted, had not resulted in any "bad blood", Holomisa said.

He said there was nothing to justify a meeting with Buthelezi over the issue, because it was "just politics".
UN call to Goldstone on armies

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Judge Richard Goldstone needs the freedom to investigate the armed wings of liberation movements inside South Africa and in neighbouring countries, UN observer mission head Mr. Angela King said here yesterday.

Mr. King said liberation armies must be scrutinised if Judge Goldstone is to achieve his stated goal of investigating the role of security forces and armed formations in political violence.

"What is giving us some concern, though, is whether Judge Goldstone can actually get cooperation from all the parties involved."

"We certainly encourage all the countries involved to welcome him and grant full access. We would hope the parties that have armed wings would also encourage those armed wings to cooperate fully," she said.

Ms King's remarks coincided with a statement by Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa that Judge Goldstone remains unwelcome in Transkei because he was appointed by Pretoria.

However, Gen Holomisa reiterated that the UN is free to observe events in Transkei.

Ms King said recent ANC disclosures about abuses in its camps in neighbouring countries were an example to other leaders of the kind of disclosure that was needed to heal the wounds of the past.

"It was not a pretty picture and I think the disclosure must have taken quite a bit of soul-searching," she said.
Unrest at its lowest

THIS past week's national toll in violence increased to 32 from the previous week's low of 19, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday.

The toll in Natal doubled to 24, confirming that this province was still turbulent, and the PWV area remained relatively calm with eight people killed during the past week, the HRC said. The security forces, according to the HRC report, had one member killed and two injured. - Sapa.
UN monitor backs Goldstone

JUDGE Richard Goldstone needed the freedom to investigate the armed wings of liberation movements inside SA and in neighbouring countries if he was to achieve his stated goal of investigating the role of security forces and armed formations in political violence in SA.

UN observer mission leader Angela King said yesterday: "What is giving us some concern, though, is whether he (Goldstone) can actually get co-operation from all the parties involved." (2.7.4)

"We certainly encourage all the countries involved to welcome him and have full access. We would hope the parties that have armed wings would also encourage those armed wings to co-operate fully," King's remarks came as Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa reiterated his view that the UN was free to observe events in Transkei, but said Goldstone remained unwelcome because he had been appointed by government.

"It was not a pretty picture and I think the disclosure must have taken quite a bit of soul-searching." The Goldstone commission was well respected and Goldstone himself was "held in very high regard" in the international community, she said.

Goldstone

"We in the international community are prepared to give any assistance that is required (to Goldstone). We were assured that he's happy with what the president told him about his mandate," she said.

On the peace accord, King said it was a good document, but much work was needed to get it to achieve its aims. The national peace committee needed to make sure that all parts of the SA community felt the document belonged to them.

Efforts were needed "to make the leadership more representative of the parties and the national or ethnic entities in the country. They need to bring in women's groups, they need to bring in community groups. There needs to be a greater awareness of what people on the ground think about certain issues, because one good thing about it is that it is a structure that's built at all levels.

"But at this point it gives the impression that it is functioning from the top level down and I think it needs to percolate, because there is a general perception that the grassroots were not involved in its creation," she said.

Leaders in peace structures realised the need for this new direction and were working on improving it, she said.
'Mass action until the end of minority rule'

VUSI KAMA, Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress would not stop programmes of mass action until white minority rule ended, ANC regional executive committee member Mr Dullah Omar told a rally in Athlone.

Mr Omar said the ANC would continue mass action unless the government made a firm commitment to elections for a constituent assembly by next December.

He said the ANC would make sure the first non-racial elections marked the end of white minority rule and that there was true democracy.

He was addressing about 250 people. Some marched from Guguletu to the rally at Athlone stadium.

Also present were ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak, ANC legal expert Professor Rader Ismail and regional executive committee member Mr Christmas Titto.

Mr Omar said the media had underplayed gains made by the ANC in the past year.

"As a result of the struggles we have waged, the government has now agreed to set up a constituent assembly and they have accepted that elections for a non-racial South Africa are not far off," he said.

He said the government's acceptance of a constituent assembly was the "greatest achievement" the ANC had had this year, because in the past the government had refused to consider the issue.

He warned that the struggle was not over.

"We still have a government that is mismanaging the country and which cannot control the violence."

Dr Boesak said it was important on December 16 to remember "all those who died in the struggle for liberation."

Part of the programme was a soccer match between first division team Lightbody's and volunteers from the audience.

Picture: HANNES THIART, The Argus

TAKING A POINT: ANC regional executive member Mr Dullah Omar makes a point during a speech at a sparsely-attended rally for peace and democracy at Athlone Stadium.
The National Peace Secretariat plans to hold a conference on taxi wars, it announced yesterday. All parties involved in taxi violence, including representatives from all taxi associations, the Minister of Transport, financial institutions and transport unions, were invited to the January meeting. — Sapa
Violence boosts Sanlam death claims payouts

SANLAM paid out nearly 20,000 death claims for about R900 million in its latest financial year — on average about R3.5 million every working day of the year.

The amount is 18 percent more than in the previous year, and the number of claims rose by 9.3 percent, says Chris Swanepoel, Sanlam's chief actuary.

The R900 million is a sizeable amount, but he says it should be seen in the context of a total payout of R5.900 million made to policy-owners and their beneficiaries during the financial year.

Violence in some form or another was the biggest single cause of death claims and the R256.9 million paid out on 4,689 claims represents nearly 30 percent of all Sanlam death claim payments.

The 1990-91 figures were R101.3 million in respect of 3,801 claims.

Vehicle accidents are still claiming many lives, also among Sanlam clients, altogether 2,154 death claims were paid out in 1992 for an amount of R139.9 million — 27.5 percent more than in 1991, when R100.9 million and 1,884 claims were involved.

Heart ailments and other diseases of the body's circulation system formed the major cause of death claims due to illness. The 6,306 payments made for R248,0 million compares with R218.8 million for 5,814 claims in 1991.

Cancer and other tumours (2,504 death claims) resulted in payments of about R113.7 million in 1992. Last year the figures were 2,350 claims for R88.8 million.

Also high on the list were diseases of the respiratory system, eg asthma, bronchitis and other diseases often linked to the smoking habit.

In this group, claims rose to nearly R1 million a week (R34.7 million in respect of 1,388 claims, against R34.9 million for 1,144 payments the previous year.

Sanlam paid out more than R18 million (538 claims) in the past financial year as a result of diseases of the digestive canal. The previous year it was R15.8 million (498 claims).

Mr Swanepoel says there was a small decrease this year in claims due to drownings: 77 payments in 1991-92 amounting to R3.4 million, against R4.7 million paid in respect of 78 claims the previous year.
Suggested to promote peace over festive season

Pretoria Correspondent

Silent night... a R2 million media campaign launched to publicise the National Peace Accord will focus on peaceful scenes such as this tranquil home at dusk.

- A yellow ribbon, hold a street party or leave a peace message on your answering machine.
- These are among the suggestions offered by the National Peace Accord's marketing committee as part of a campaign aimed at ordinary people to promote peace over the festive season.
- "We believe that it is only when everyone in South Africa starts taking responsibility individually for the peace process that we can hope to see substantial progress in this area," said spokesman Rhodene Graham.
- Among the other suggestions to promote peace are:
  - Instruct switchboard operators to use a "peace phrase" when answering the phone, for instance "Have a peaceful day."
  - Link with your local supermarket to have a "peace bin" to collect food to distribute to violence-ravaged communities.
  - Call for a minute of silence for peace at social gatherings.
  - Put a peace slogan on notice boards in lobbies of hotels, offices and other public places.
  - Allocate a wall in your area as a wall for peace slogans.
  - Request DJs at your local radio station to play peace songs, including carols.
  - Call your local newspaper editor and let him or her know what your community is doing to promote peace.
  - Fly a peace banner from your factory, office block, hotel, front garden, or school.
  - Organise a "switch-in" of headlights as had been done in Durban recently.
  - Wish everyone a peaceful day as you leave a shop, elevator or even a meeting.
  - Grow a "peace garden" (for instance, phone Allasse 338-1928), or plant a "peace tree" at a hospital or community centre.
  - Organise a "Whaf peace means for me" painting competition for children in shopping centres or libraries or ask children to write about peace to the local newspaper.
  - Arrange a "walk/run/dance/sing for peace" on the beach or at a picnic.

Now it's up to you.

And this family bedtime scene where the joy of reading is shared. The filming is in a farmhouse near Moyerton.

Pictures: Jacobo Rydill
Inkatha rallies around high food prices

BY CARMEL RICKARD
INKATHA starts a national programme of "mass action" tomorrow, targeting food prices.

Official Ed Tillelt said the new campaign would begin this Saturday with pickets in shopping centres in and around Durban.

Control boards' "fixing" of market prices will be a target of Inkatha's campaign, entitled "Food for the people". Due to escalate in the new year, it will focus on government intervention in the market, the fact that so few foods are exempt from VAT and the statutory powers given to so many agricultural control boards.

Inkatha has often criticised the African National Congress and its allies for programmes of mass action, saying they are intimidating and are not the correct means to achieve the aims of the alliance, however praiseworthy these objectives may be.

However, in the last few months the Inkatha Freedom Party has launched catchy drives of its own including the "Disband MK" programme. This campaign, so far more notable for the picture opportunities it presents than for the numbers involved, has seen women dressed in black, accompanied by children, staging protests outside the homes of people alleged to have links to MK or to be in a position to influence the organisation.

There have also been large-scale marches in Johannesburg and Durban with themes such as the unenforceability of a ban on carrying "cultural weapons". Officially some of these have been labelled "marches of the Zulu nation", but this nice distinction appears to elude most people inside and outside Inkatha and to exist more in the minds of top organisers than anywhere else.
Violence is scaring off foreign investors, says UN's Angela King.
Symbolic Govt vital - Amissah

Political killings amaze Commonwealth observers:

By Mokgadi Pela

A MORE representative government might be better able to defuse the violence than the present regime, Commonwealth observers said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Chairman of the observer mission to South Africa, Mr Austin Amissah, told a media briefing that South Africans felt the political process had to continue despite the violence.

He said the Commonwealth observers were happy to learn that multiparty talks would continue.

He said the observers were amazed at the level of "indiscriminate political killings" in the country. "The sooner the cause of the violence is identified and rooted out, the quicker will the source of instability be removed," Amissah said.
New Year brings fresh hope for SA - Mandela

By Israel Legrami

The year 1972 is a year of hope. Mandela is released from prison and is free to speak out for the first time in years. His release is a symbol of the growing pressure for change in South Africa. The country is at a crossroads, with the government facing increasing sanctions and pressure from the international community.

The elections that take place in 1972 show the beginning of a new era in South African politics. The ANC and other解放运动 gain momentum, and the government begins to make some concessions to the growing popular movement.

The year is marked by the struggle for freedom and equality, and the hope for a better future is on the horizon. Mandela's release is a beacon of hope for all those who believe in justice and democracy.
CAPE TOWN — Violence was the single biggest cause of death claims received by Sanlam in the year to end-September.

Of the total of R264.9m paid out, R254.9m (R193.9m) stemmed from violent deaths, chief actuary Chris Swanepoel said yesterday.

About 20,000 death claims were received with their total value of R900m representing an 18% rise over the previous year.

Swanepoel said payments for the 4,668 (3,801) violence-related claims represented about 38% of all Sanlam’s death claims payments.

Motor vehicle accidents gave rise to 2,164 (1,984) death claim payments of R130.9m (R109.9m), 27.5% more than 1991.

South Africans continued to suffer a high incidence of heart disease. This, coupled with other circulatory diseases, was the major cause of death claims due to sickness. A total of R25.6m (R21.8m) was paid out for 5,366 (5,614) claims.

Cancer and other tumours resulted in payments of R113.7m (R98.8m) on 2,584 (2,550) claims, while respiratory diseases such as asthma and bronchitis — often linked to smoking — generated 1,388 claims (1,144) worth R48.7m (R34.5m).

Sanlam paid out more than R15m (R15.8m) for 493 (508) claims related to diseases of the digestive system, while R3.4m (R4.7m) was paid out for 77 (78) deaths due to drowning.
Keep talking, King urges SA

Observers welcome talks

JOHANNESBURG. — Commonwealth observers are pleased South Africans accept that the political process in the country has to proceed irrespective of whether violence has subsided. To expect the resumption of multi-party negotiations to depend on a reduction in violence is unrealistic, however desirable, Mr Austin Amisah of Ghana told a press conference here yesterday.

"A government accepted by all the peoples of South Africa may be in a better position to deal effectively with the violence than a government which is not," he said.

Mr Amisah, the chairman of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa, was reporting on behalf of the 12-member Comesa delegation which has been in the country for the past two months. — Sapa
Criminal justice in SA criticised

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa (Comsa) has criticised the country's criminal justice system, expressing surprise at low sentences and low amounts of bail granted for crimes of violence.

Comsa chairman Mr Justice Austin Amussah, former Justice of Appeal in Ghana and current president of Botswana Court of Appeal, was giving the mission's impressions of its two months of observing political violence at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

He would not express an opinion on causes of political violence, but the levels seemed to have dropped lately and this had partly been ascribed to the presence of international observers.

Mr Justice Amussah said that an efficient and effective criminal justice system which commanded the confidence of the people was a powerful instrument for the control of crime.

Comsa had often heard that the criminal justice system in South Africa had broken down or had lost the confidence of the majority of people, especially blacks.

"Comsa has noted with surprise the release on bail, sometimes on small sureties or bonds, of persons charged with the gravest of crimes."

This allowed them to repeat their offences, interfere with witnesses or escape.

"In cases of violence, the message sent out is that the courts are not interested in the protection of human life or limb."

He said Comsa had also noticed that sentences "tended to convey the impression that violent crime, even that ending in the loss of human life, is treated with less severity than the simplest offences against property, such as stealing of goods".
Sad tolls (274)

The political death toll is likely to be 18% higher than last year, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations, with the running total up to 2,924 by the end of last month. That makes 1992 the second worst year of political violence to date.

However, the concentration of the violence in Natal is brought sharply into focus by another agency, the Human Rights Commission, which points out that 1,279 people have died in political strife in the province this year.

The institute points out that though 1991 showed a 27% drop on the 1990 figure, fatalities in political violence since its outbreak in September 1984 will probably top 15,000 by the end of the year. Nearly 66% of these deaths occurred in the past three years.

Institute executive director John Kaniberman says it was tragic that neither five bilateral agreements nor two multilateral accords have succeeded in checking the spiralling violence, let alone ending it.

The five bilateral accords include four between government and the ANC (Groote Schuur, Pretoria, D F Malan, and the recent Record of Understanding) and one between the ANC and the IFP, signed in January 1991.

The two multilateral agreements were the Codesa Declaration of Intent and the National Peace Accord.

The institute stresses that its violence figures are preliminary and subject to various limitations, among them the fact that the distinction between political violence and other types is not always clear. The figures are probably better indicators of trends than of absolute levels of conflict.

As the Legal Resources Centre's Howard Varney says, the sad irony is that more people are dying now than in the dark days of the State of Emergency.

His pessimism at the outlook for next year should perhaps be counterbalanced by the renewed optimism on the negotiations front.
We're on the high road
NELSON Mandela is optimistic about 1993 and is pleased with many of the developments that have taken place this year. ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, Political Correspondent of the Sowetan, spoke to the African National Congress leader.

NELSON MANDELA: "It has been a very difficult year, but there has been progress. We are ending on a high note."

The question is whether each one of us, as an individual and as the leader of his or her organisation, is doing sufficient to end the violence? If we're going to stop violence, we will have to stop finger-pointing and look at what we are doing ourselves.

There are no efforts in South Africa by those living under better conditions, to raise food, clothing, funds at least now during this Christmas period. The failure by whites to rise to the occasion as a serious indictment against the white community in this country.

The rightwingers, especially people like Eugene Terreblanche of the AWB and Andries Treurnicht, have made provocative statements. How do you think this impacts on or influences the peace process at all?

TREURNICHT: Jaap Marais and Terre-Blanche claim to represent the interests of the Afrikaners and it is correct that somebody should champion the cause of a particular section of the community. There is nothing wrong with that.

What we criticise, however, is the fact that they are spreading fear, uncertainties and feelings of hostility among the Afrikaners, especially against black people.

Terreblanche responded to my speech in Potchefstroom, where I said he should come to Cosas and put forward his demand for self-determination. His reply was that if he accepted my invitation he would be submitting himself to a communist dictatorship.

What is actually happening is that they fear democracy. They are also aware that they are in the minority and that in any joint discussions they will be outvoted democratically. They are using the communist bogey in order to hide their opposition to any democratic dispensation.

After all, who is Terreblanche to talk about dictatorship? He was a member of a party (the NP) which dictated to the majority.

We repeat the call to Terreblanche and all other rightwingers, that if they think they are going to undermine the peace process in this country they are making a serious mistake, because they have not got that capacity. It is possible for them to do some damage initially and that may lead to the killing of innocent people. But they will not succeed. They must bring their demands to Cosas so that we can discuss them - as South Africans.

We have sympathy for the fear of the white minority in this country. We are prepared to address those fears but we have also offered high rewards for something - 15 000 blacks have died in this country.

So the action of Apla must be seen from that angle.

But I am highly critical of the fact that there does not appear to be police control over Apla. The statement that has been made by deputy president
It is quite clear — from the discussions we have had and from decisions taken to set up joint committees to go into outstanding matters which were not resolved at the last meeting of the ANC and the PAC, and from the forthcoming ANC-Government meeting on January 20 (1993) — that both sides are quite keen that this time-frame should be kept. While I agree that they also fear democratic irreversibility, I think they are resigning themselves to the fact that the advent of democracy is inevitable.

In its composition, was Codesa not inherently undemocratic? For example, who at the forum, including the ANC and the National Party, has ever been tested in a fully democratic election? AGAIN, we are not conducting our search for solutions in Utopia, we are not conducting negotiations in South Africa, and we are not conducting negotiations in South Africa. Political leaders must also conduct negotiations with the back of the party's policy views.

De Klerk initially suggested that only the NP, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC should decide on the political programme of the IFP. I rejected it. I thought the political programme should fit. I was told that the IFP would not accept it.

I did this because I fear that if we left out any political party, however small, we would have the same situation as in Mozambique and Angola.

...
JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress says a "drastic decline" in deaths in PWV black townships was a direct result of the activities of its military wing, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla).

“We have noted a drastic decline in the statistics of violence for political reasons in the PWV area following the Queenstown and King William’s Town incidents,” PAC West Rand regional chairman Nezimani Madzunya told a Press conference.

Mr Madzunya, a member of the PAC’s national executive committee, said “the threat of retaliation for every African who dies has not only led to the decline in violence but has proved that... agents of the regime are primarily responsible for the violence in the PWV area”.

Since the Apla attacks in the two Eastern Cape towns which saw five whites killed, no train attacks have taken place and there were no other large-scale attacks, he added.

“It is common cause in international relations that the threat of military action, by those who have a demonstrable capacity to retaliate, always serves as a preventive measure.

“For this reason Apla activities have led to a decline in the violence and we cannot find proof in the international scarecrow analyses that Apla activities will increase violence,” Mr Madzunya said.

The SA Police yesterday described the PAC claims as “ludicrous”.

“Only Mr Madzunya can explain how such a parallel can be drawn,” the SAP said. “Allegations of a ‘third force’ have been bandied about with both the ANC and the security forces being accused of involvement. However, after the Eastern Cape attacks — which Apla boasted of having committed — the train attacks have, according to the PAC, ceased. Have the perpetrators not been ordered to cease these attacks so that their masters can gain propaganda mileage therefrom?”

In Washington the US government protested to the PAC about its armed wing’s terrorist threats even before last month’s attacks in King William’s Town and Queenstown. But the PAC leadership replied it had no control over the Azanian People’s Liberation Army, according to US Assistant Secretary of State Herman J Cohen.

“1 can’t confirm that they (Apla) are the perpetrators, but if they say they are the perpetrators I believe it,” he said. “We condemn that as a blatant act of terrorism.” — Sapa.

See Page 14.
The ANC's largest region, the PWV region, is also concerned that the peace accord has given the full run of the day to the government. After months of deliberations and consultations, the PWV region decided yesterday that while the peace accord has provided all the participating parties with the opportunity to set up their respective terms of the document, as expressed in the agreement, the brave people of South Africa may not be able to enjoy the full benefits of the peace accord unless the ANC is made a partner in all the branches of government. The PWV region, therefore, calls on all ANC members to give their full support to the National Peace Accord and to actively participate in the building and strengthening of all branches of government.

Support
Heavy sentence for SA courts and cops

Commonwealth probe finds deep black pessimism

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE 12-man Commonwealth observer team in South Africa handed down a serious indictment of our system of criminal justice.

During its two-month mission to monitor violence here, it heard repeatedly that "the system" had broken down and that the majority of black South Africans had no confidence in the system.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg recently, mission chairman and a judge in Ghana, Justice Amoah, said the absence of black confidence in the system had meant few crimes were reported, fewer were detected and only a handful were processed.

He said: "The courts are seen by the public as out of touch and ill-equipped to quickly dispose of the volume of criminal cases which come before them. We have noted with surprise the release on bail sometimes on small sureties or bonds, of persons charged with the gravest of crimes."

"We have also noticed the level of sentence sometimes given after conviction which tends to convey the impression that violent crime, even that ending in the loss of human life, is treated with less severity than the simplest offence, such as the stealing of goods."

Disinterested

In cases of violence the message sent out was that the courts were not interested in the protection of human life or limb, Amoah said.

The police were also criticised by the team for taking sides. Amoah said people had told Missioners of how they would not report offences to the police because they were seen to be uninterested or were too incompetent or indifferent to do anything.

"The police would rather put the person reporting the occurrence of a burglar, vandalism or murder at best investigated the complaint inefficiently, giving little chance of success in a prosecution," Amoah said.

He said, however, that his team had a continuous relationship with senior police officers in most parts of the country and they (team members) were invited to give lectures in Commonwealth institutions.

The team consists of former police commissioners from Canada, New Zealand, Malaysia, a chief superintendent of Scotland Yard, a former senator from Zimbabwe, a lawyer and MP from Zimbabwe, a lawyer and former Indian MP and the director of the Institute of Criminology in Canberra, Australia.
A bloody leap year

By MOSES MAMALLA

BLOOD, blood and more blood. These words perhaps sum up the 'uncountable massacres which were committed in 1992 - an unusually dramatic leap year.

In one of the worst attacks, a heavily armed gang went on the rampage at the East Rand's Crossroads squatter camp on April 3. Twenty-one people, believed to be supporters of Inkatha, were slaughtered during the bloody night.

Hardly four days later, six people, including an eight-month-old baby, were moved down by unknown attackers in Zonkezizwe, also on the East Rand.

Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza blamed the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

A week later, April 13, seven Thembisa residents were shot dead when unknown gunmen sprayed their minibus with bullets.

Faceless executioners also co-ordinated a series of armed attacks in the Transvaal and Natal townships, killing people in taverns and at taxi ranks.

Then came the night of June 17 when about 400 armed hostel dwellers from KwaMadala launched the terror operation in Beipatong which brought the country's negotiations for a new political dispensation to a halt.

A total of 39 people were butchered by the brutal killers who also stabbed a three-year-old toddler to death.

Following the massacre, President FW De Klerk, who visited the troubled Beipatong area, was chased from the township as residents accused him of "shedding crocodile tears".

Then, on September 7, came Bisho, the massacre which many analysts believe could have been avoided. Despite warnings by the Ciskei military regime not to march on Bisho, the ANC and its allies went ahead with the march.

As SACP's Ronnie Kasrils attempted to lead his followers through a gap in the fence to march to Bisho proper, Ciskei security forces opened up on fleeing and terrified protesters with live ammunition.

The five-minute volley claimed the lives of more than 24 people, leaving 200 others wounded.

The aftermath of the massacre was even more violent.

Houses belonging to Ciskei soldiers and police were destroyed as radical youths demanded free political movement in the homeland.

In another senseless massacre, 22 villagers were brutally killed when AK-47 gunners pumped bullets into them during a Zulu traditional feast at the remote village of Emphushini.

Five family members were also killed during a hand-grenade attack on a house at Eikhenwani in Northern Natal on December 12.

In another incident, six Zwane family members were murdered when AK-47 wielding gunmen stormed into their house and opened fire. A 2-day-old baby survived the attack.

According to the Human Rights Commission, 16 incidents in which ten or more people were killed have been reported between January and October this year, resulting in 195 deaths and 450 injuries.

More than 3 000 people died in politically related attacks this year alone, the HRC stated.
Doctors shocked by violence in country

Psychologists threatened by own clients:

By Mokgadi Pela

TWO visiting British clinical psychologists have expressed shock at the amount of violence in families and the threats faced by their South African counterparts in mediating in such disputes.

Drs Elsa Jones and Renos Papadopoulos made this remark at the end of a five-day workshop organised by the Family Institute in Mayfair, Johannesburg, on Friday.

"How can we still expect therapists to be of help when they are scared of their clients?" Jones asked.

She, however, paid tribute to South African therapists for continuing to counsel families despite difficult circumstances.

Jones said due to the multiple levels of violence in South Africa, the therapist was unsure how to counsel his client.

She said violence came from individuals, families, society and government.
Unionists blame state for violence

Violence worse since 1990 - shop stewards

6 229 people killed after unbanning of organisations.

By Ike Motsapi

VIOLENCE has always been part of life under apartheid but got worse since the unbanning of the African National Congress and other organisations during February 1990.

This is the view shared by shop stewards of the Congress of South African Trade Unions in an article headlined Murdering Freedom.

Writing in Cosatu's monthly magazine The Shopsteward, Sakhela Buhlungu said until the state was seen to be doing something concrete about violence "negotiations are on pause".


Violence was allegedly state-supported.

"The aim seems to be to weaken the democratic organisation and negotiate from the power of strength," Buhlungu wrote.

Themba Mbozazi, a Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union (Ppwawu) shop steward in Maritzburg, is quoted as saying: "The violence was created deliberately. It will not end as long as the people who started it do not stop."
Govt steps up pressure over border raids

GOVERNMENT handed a formal protest note to Transkei and stepped up diplomatic pressure on Lesotho yesterday as right-wingers threatened to take the law into their own hands and strike at Apla bases in the two countries.

The CP has vowed to take unilateral action against the alleged bases unless government implements strong measures against the PAC's armed wing within a week.

The weekend slaying of a 14-year-old girl in Ficksburg, near the Lesotho border, has also prompted threats of arbitrary revenge attacks on blacks by right-wing extremists in the area.

While the CP has welcomed the deployment of policemen on the 200 farms along the SA border with Lesotho, it has urged that hot pursuit operations be authorized into the country. "More statements of cooperation with the Lesotho police are not enough," the CP said.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the "full co-operation" was being received from Lesotho, where the girl's killers fled.

Another source said the attack was probably launched from within SA, and not from bases in Lesotho. Law and Order Minister Hermans Kriel has mentioned Transkei and Zimbabwe as possible sites for Apla bases.

Foreign Affairs said the diplomatic protest to Transkei demanded strong action against gunmen who attacked SA vehicles on a section of the Queens-Long road which passes through Transkei.

Tonight, Ficksburg farmers, police, army and AWB officials plan to hold a meeting to discuss the state of attacks against residents in the area Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee—who is also the Free State leader of the NP—are expected to attend the meeting.

At the same time, Sapa reports the Lesotho government has called a special meeting to discuss the deteriorating security situation along the border.

Two more deaths occurred on a Free State farm yesterday, but police suspected the motive for the attack was robbery. Koos Ward, 70, and his 34-year-old daughter, were killed by an intruder on their farm, ranchmen yesterday.

Foreign Affairs and police spokesmen have expressed fear that right-wing action might upset delicate operations, in co-operation with other governments, to stop the killings. "While channels between the remnants of SA, Transkei and Lesotho remain open, we believe any unilateral action by groups will be unfortunate," the Foreign Affairs spokesman said.

Government wished to decide on a joint strategy with Transkei to counter the attacks, but would first evaluate the homeland's response to the protest note, he said.

Police spokesman Col Louis Botha said heightened security, including additional Internal Stability Unit bases, permanent and mobile roadblocks, farm patrols and spot checks on vehicles, were being implemented. He said it was clear the perpetrators of incidents in the Border region were...

Border raids

coming from Transkei and returning afterwards, "frustrating" police who could operate only in SA.

Individuals were being advised at border roadblocks not to travel through Transkei, and Transkei police had begun escorting vehicles in some areas.

Police would testify about the size and nature of Apla forces before a Goldstone commission hearing today and early in January, he said, adding that Apla was "not a very large grouping" which confined its attacks to within a couple of kilometres of the Transkei border.

The latest attacks showed that slow-moving vehicles on isolated roads were being targeted.

Boerenraad Party leader Robert van Tonder said right-wing organisations were co-ordinating efforts to defend SA's borders with Lesotho and Transkei. An undi-
Kriel declares 23 unrest areas

Irate farmers boo Ministers over security

ANGRY Free State farmers and right-wingers booed and heckled Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee yesterday at a meeting in Ficksburg to discuss the deteriorating security situation.

Kriel said government had taken security measures, including the declaration of 23 places along the Lesotho and Transkei borders as unrest areas.

He also announced that three people had been arrested for the murder of a Theunsen farmer and his daughter, Sapa reports. Reacting to Kriel’s announcement, Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomusa said President P W de Klerk would have to act with equal vigour against armed right-wing militia if he wished to be seen as sincerely trying to end violence in the area.

“De Klerk is showing us that in SA he will allow the armed wings of white political organisations, while calling for the disbanding of others like Umkhonto we Sizwe,” Holomusa said.

Security measures announced by Kriel included:

- The deployment of police on farms;
- Stepped up roadblocks in border areas; and
- Increased security force patrolling of affected areas.

An army spokesman said troops would be deployed alongside policemen to secure isolated farms along the borders.

Speakers from the Free State Agricultural Union security committee, which convened the meeting, called for the appla...

Farmers (From Page 1)

...launched from Transkei soil. No arrests had been made.

Holomusa said the lack of progress in investigations raised the possibility that the attacks were being orchestrated or exaggerated by “elements within the security and Cabinet Ministers playing on the fears of whites to disillusion them with the present government”.

It was “common cause” that the SA Cabinet was divided between hard-liners, such as Kriel and Water Affairs Minister Magnus Malan, and negotiators such as Foreign Minister Pik Botha, he said.

The Lesotho government yesterday gave an assurance that it would not allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks against its neighbours, saying it reserved the right to act against lawlessness on its SA border.

Comment: Page 4
OK forced to stop selling toy AK-47s

COMPLAINTS from the public have forced the OK Bazaars to stop selling toy replicas of AK-47 assault rifles.

OK marketing director Arthur Solomon said yesterday the sensitivity surrounding the sale of this “controversial toy” had prompted the chain store to remove all stock from the shelves immediately, rather than discontinuing supply once stock was sold.

The store said the toys, imported from the Far East, had sold well.

The SA Consumer Council did not criticise the sale of the replicas, with spokesman Paul Ross saying the council felt the replicas presented a political, not a consumer issue.

National peace committee chairman John Hall, speaking in his personal capacity, said he was “horrified” by the selling of the replicas. “It is criminally irresponsible... in a violence-wrecked society to sell these replicas which only serve to promote the destruction of human lives and further deaden the minds of many who are already semi-anaesthetised to the horror of death.”
Justice for SA peace

Azapo gives a Christmas message

By Mokgadi Pela

AZAPO president Professor Rumeleng Mosala has called on black people to continue struggling for justice in order to achieve a lasting peace.

Mosala said in his Christmas message that peace resulted from justice and not vice versa.

"Only justice will end violence. Only justice will transform our townships, from human dumping grounds into thriving, social communities. Coloured collapsed because the white minority regime seeks to bring about peace without justice," Mosala added.

He said processes like Codisa and power-sharing between "self-appointed" parties could not eradicate white supremacy.

Mosala accused the Government of having duped South Africans into believing it was committed to peace. "In keeping with all dictatorships throughout history, the white minority regime has healed the wound of our people lightly by shooting peace while engineering violence against them," Mosala said.
Police patrol border farms

POLICE moved quickly to secure farms and towns on the Transkei and Lesotho borders yesterday, after the declaration of 23 unrest areas in the region by Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel.

Additional police had been moved in and new Internal Stability Unit bases were being established yesterday, police spokesman Capt Liebe Vermeulen said.

Security operations would continue on Christmas day and through the rest of the festive season. Police said they had not ruled out attacks on isolated farms and towns on Christmas day.

Tensions in the area remained high yesterday after two stormy farmers' meetings on Tuesday at which Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee were heckled and booed. Farmers and right-wingers demanded greater security measures and cross-border raids against Apla gunmen, the alleged perpetrators of attacks on whites in the border areas.

The white Mineworkers' Union came out in support of the farmers' demands, with a spokesman saying violence against defenceless whites on farms and in towns would not be tolerated.

Pretoria police spokesman Capt Piet Brandt said police would "treat fire with fire" and act with equal vigour against armed right-wingers and Apla gangs, if they broke the law. He added, however, that the AWB and other right-wing groups had not "taken the lives of innocent people", as Apla allegedly had.

Transek leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa has accused the police of threatening to take drastic action against black guerrilla movements, while allowing white right-wingers to move about carrying heavy arms openly.

Holomisa yesterday called for an "Indaba" early next year to address the deployment of AWB members along Transkei's borders with SA.

Ficksburg schoolgirl Leonie Pretorius, who was shot dead last week, was buried at an emotional service in the town yesterday, Sapa reports.

Free State ANC spokesman Dirk de Toit.

Patrols

said yesterday Apla's attacks were contributing to the culture of violence that was tearing SA apart. He said the police and SADF no longer had the manpower to prevent violence and suggested that Umkhonto we Sizwe said, under the discipline of a government of national unity.

The CP said its Ladybrand MP, Charl Hertzog, would meet the Lesotho police commissioner in Maseru today to discuss the recent violence.

"We will reiterate our standpoint that any terrorist base must be neutralised (within seven days)," the CP welcomed assurances by the Lesotho government that it would not permit Apla to operate from its soil, but it wanted details on how Lesotho would neutralise a terrorist threat.

It would also seek assurances that Umkhonto was not allowed to operate from Lesotho. "The CP is not taken in by the ANC 'threats' against Apla," the party said. It saw both organisations as responsible for the current wave of terror against white South Africans.

To Page 2
Azapo suspicious of UN intentions

By Isaac Moleli

The Azanian People's Organisation said yesterday it would resist any attempt by the international community to force it into accepting any concept of power-sharing.

The organisation also said it wanted to meet the Inkatha Freedom Party and discuss the differences which have led to a "raging war" between the two organisations in Bekkersdal on the West Rand.

Azapo deputy president Mr Pandelani Nefokohodwe said at a press conference his organisation had noted with regret the role of the United Nations peace-keeping mission in the country.

He said it was questionable whether the UN was in the country to keep statistics, to monitor violence or to placate organisations which had signed the Peace Accord.

Azapo had met representatives of the UN and the Organisation of African Unity to lodge complaints about the violence at Bekkersdal.

Publicity secretary Dr Gomolomo Mokae said although the organisation was engaged in a "war" with the IFP at Bekkersdal, their option was to meet and discuss their differences. Since the hostilities began in October last year, 21 Azapo supporters had been killed.
The gun
Year of

The Killers

2014
Judge urges peace drive

Educatethe masses on need for tolerance, says Golsstone
In SA next year
NPA plea for peace

Peace accord sees light at end of the tunnel • Policeman to leave force

By Lulama Luthu

1993 may usher in a peace era

The election results have been interpreted as a mandate for the new government to implement the peace accord with the ANC.

The new government has already announced plans to begin the process of implementing the accord next year.

The accord, signed in September, calls for the end of the armed struggle and the establishment of a new democratic South Africa.

The government has also announced plans to begin talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party to find a peaceful solution to the conflict.

The accord has been welcomed by most of the country's people, who hope that it will bring an end to the violence and division that has plagued the country for so long.

The government has said that it will work hard to implement the accord and that it will not be deterred by any opposition.

The accord has also been welcomed by international leaders, who hope that it will help to bring peace to the region.

The government has said that it will continue to work with all the country's people to implement the accord and to build a better future for South Africa.
Judge Goldstone’s plea for peace in South Africa

By Sovetan Correspondent.

Peace-loving South Africans need to embark on a mass education drive for tolerance. Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday in the Commission of Inquiry’s third report.

Judge Goldstone said the political organisations had failed to do so successfully and that the thrust could well now come from non-political bodies.

“It would be difficult for the political leaders to ignore such an initiative. Public funding therefore should be sought and, too, the support of the international community.”

The judge said the commission was impressed by a plea from Priscilla Mckay on behalf of the Pentown Child Welfare for the education of the youth on political tolerance during the recent preliminary hearing on violence in Natal.

The commission said the evidence continued to be socio-economic, suspicion and negative perceptions of the security forces and the availability of sophisticated weapons and explosive devices.

In view of the submission made by others, the commission believed the violence in Natal/KwaZulu could only be curbed if there was agreement by the parties concerned on the following issues:

- The resolution of tribal chiefs’ (amakhosi),
- The implementation of the police of political, deaths and injuries;
- The withdrawal of G3 rifles given to tribal authorities in KwaZulu;
- The cessation of political attacks in breach of the National Peace Accord;
- The cessation of attacks on all existing authorities; and
- The restitution of political parties and public rights or privileges,

Complaints made had been by the ANC and the IFP that there were “go-go” areas in which the one party or the other was unable to carry on political activity.

If elections or referenda are to be held in South Africa, or as suggested by the IFP in Natal/KwaZulu, it is obviously a precondition that the parties contesting such an election or participating in such a referendum must be free to carry on political activity,” said the report.

Such activity must include the holding of meetings and peaceful demonstrations. A public commitment by the KwaZulu government, the KwaZulu Police, the IFP and the ANC to allow such free political activity was therefore essential.

The report said there should be an undertaking by all parties to give due recognition to the role of tribal chiefs (amakhosi) and to pay due respect to them.

Complaints were also received about the inadequacy of or failure by the SAP and the KZP to arrest and successfully charge the perpetrators of serious political crimes. On the other hand the SAP and the KZP complained about the lack of community co-operation when they seek to investigate such crimes.

“The commission believes that international police observers could be of substantial assistance to both the SAP and the KZP. Their presence, involvement, for example, in selected police stations, would go a long way towards lessening the fears of many that they would not receive fair and serious attention and adequate response to complaints.

“Without the full co-operation of the communities in which they operate the police cannot be expected to perform adequately or successfully.”
Justice Goldstone - plea for tolerance.

"This may well be the time for peace-loving and peace-yearning South Africans to come together and to demand leadership for peace."
Holomisa challenges FW

PORT ELIZABETH — Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa yesterday called on President F W de Klerk to "show us the bases from which our people are being killed in the townships" and to disclose the source of weapons circulating in the country.

Holomisa’s statement to the Labour Party’s annual congress came as a war of words between SA and Transkei continued unabated.

Yesterday, government spokesman Dave Steward warned that the SA security forces would continue their “relentless efforts to track down, apprehend and punish those responsible for terrorist atrocities wherever they may be found”. He said the security forces would, if necessary, apply the doctrine of hot pursuit and “will consequently follow the perpetrators of any terrorist acts across international borders”. Government, he said was “deeply concerned” about news reports relating to possible assistance which the military government of Transkei might have given to the PAC’s armed wing Apla.

In his speech to the Labour Party, Holomisa also called on SA to “formalise” all existing armed bases inside SA pending constitutional talks, saying this would allow conventional training and accountability.

He called on de Klerk to present his evidence of Apla activities in Transkei to a commission of inquiry to be appointed by his government in the new year.

Holomisa also launched a stinging attack on Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel, accusing him of "belligerent posturing and sabre-rattling". Kriel, he said, was "completely out of touch with the spirit of change sweeping SA.

— Jo Page 2

Holomisa

"One wonders whether SA in this hour of its historical march needs the likes of Her- nus Kriel and other similar minded cronies in public office. The Minister has no reputation of trying to heal wounds; instead he is always sowing discord, suspicion, distrust and hatred." Holomisa said Kriel’s threat to launch raids into Transkei, and his decision to close the border, appeared to be "a ploy to destabilise the entire area, with the view to driving white Natal supporters into the fold of the ultra-conservative right wing”.

Steward said Foreign Minister Pik Botha had made it clear last week that if, as reported, Holomisa had signed an accord with Apla, it could have "serious implications and grave consequences".

Steward said if intelligence confirmed the existence of terrorist bases in Transkei, government would take whatever diplomatic and other action might be necessary for their elimination.

Government was urgently investigating the reliability and authenticity of all reports relating to Apla, he said.

Holomisa told Sapa yesterday his government had been issuing pistols to the military wings of the ANC and PAC, to protect their leaders in the homeland, since 1990. He said the issuing of pistols to Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres would continue and was solely aimed at the protection of ANC and PAC leaders on visits to the homeland.

Holomisa said strict control was exercised over the weapons — pistols were signed for and had to be returned at the culmination of each visit.

Part of the reason for the issuing of pistols was that Transkei authorities wanted to avoid Apla and Umkhonto cadres bringing their own "big guns" into Transkei, Holomisa added.

The PAC yesterday “categorically” denied that Apla had been militarily active in Transkei. In a statement to Sapa, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander warned of action if Transkei was attacked.

"Any attack on Transkei will be an attack on unarmed civilians… Should such an attack occur we will not fold our arms. We are not afraid of attack. We are ready and waiting."
Gag bellicose leaders, says Goldstone

THE Goldstone commission has recommended that political leaders who attack opposition parties in ways that breach the peace accord should be banned from addressing public meetings for a set period.

In its third interim report, released yesterday, the commission said all confrontational and inflammatory political attacks on the authorities should stop while constitutional negotiations were in progress.

The ANC, which would not respond in detail until the recommendations had been studied by its national working committee, agreed to the principle that leaders not publicly attack one another. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus added that he was not sure Judge Richard Goldstone's idea, though, was the right way to keep leaders in line.

Inkatha spokesmen were not available for comment.

The commission, seemingly frustrated at the lack of progress in reducing tensions in Natal since the second interim report in April, suggested harsh measures.

It said there had to be a legally enforceable penalty for breaches of the peace accord by political leaders. "Leaders of both the ANC and the IFP continue to attack each other and each other's parties in terms that clearly constitute breaches of the national peace accord. The absence of an appropriate sanction for such breaches has often been raised."

Therefore consideration should be given to getting agreement that permission to address public meetings be withheld for a time from those making such attacks.

The report also noted: "While the present negotiations proceed with regard to the nature of a future constitution for SA, all political parties should desist from making inflammatory and confrontational political attacks or authorities which are at present constituted."

An agreement to do so would help defuse tensions and reduce the potential for violence in many areas of Natal.

Goldstone was critical of Inkatha and the ANC, calling their rivalry "the primary trigger" of violence and intimidation.

Citing the second interim report, he said: "Both organisations have been overhasty in accusing the other of being the cause of such conduct. Each has been tardy, especially at the level of top leadership, in taking adequate and effective steps to stop the violence by imposing discipline and accountability among its membership."

He said there had been no improvement in this field. "Indeed, in Natal/KwaZulu the position has, if anything, deteriorated."

Contributory factors to the violence remain socio-economic issues, suspicion and negative attitudes towards the security forces, and the availability of sophisticated weapons to tribal authorities.

The judge held that violence could be curbed if political parties agreed on such issues:

☐ Free political activity in all areas;
☐ Clarification and definition of the role of tribal chiefs;
☐ Improved performance in police investigations and conviction of those responsible for political deaths and injuries;
☐ The withdrawal of G-3 rifles from tribal authorities; and
☐ Freedom of affiliation to political parties and public rights or privileges.

The report stated that free political activity was essential to convey policies and win support. It was essential that a public commitment to this was forthcoming from KwaZulu's police and government, Inkatha and the ANC. Due respect and recognition should also be accorded tribal chiefs but their role had to be clearly defined.

The judge recommended that international police observers be stationed at selected police stations to lessen community fears regarding a fair hearing.

"Without the full co-operation of the community, the police cannot be expected to perform adequately or successfully," Goldstone said. An adequate witness protection programme should also be set up.

He expressed concern at the ease and frequency with which bail was granted in cases of public violence and intimidation.

The commission was impressed by evidence from a Pinetown Child Welfare worker and her plea for educating youth in political tolerance. The judge said this might well be the time for "the mass of peace-loving and peace-yearning" South Africans to come together to demand "leadership for peace." Political organisations had failed to do this successfully and the thrust could now well come from non-political bodies.

Political leaders would find this difficult to ignore. Public funding should be made available to support such an initiative, and support should be sought internationally.
Gag plan for fiery politicos

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.— The Goldstone Commission has recommended that political leaders who attack opposition parties in ways that breach the peace accord should be banned from addressing public meetings for a set period.

The commission also wanted all confrontational and inflammatory political attacks on the authorities to stop while constitutional negotiations were in progress, it said in the commission's third interim report.

Yesterday the ANC said it did not want to respond in detail to the recommendations, as they had to be studied by the national working committee.

However, it agreed with the principle that leaders should not publicly attack each other and their parties. ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said, adding that he was not sure Mr Justice Goldstone's idea was the right way to go about sanctioning leaders.

The commission, seemingly frustrated at the lack of progress in reducing tensions in Natal since the second interim report in April, suggested harsh measures.

It said there had to be a legally enforceable penalty for breach of the peace accord by political leaders.

"Leaders of both the ANC and the IFP continue to attack each other and each other's parties in terms that clearly constitute breaches of the national peace accord. The absence of an appropriate sanction for such breaches has often been raised," said the third interim report.

Therefore consideration should be given to getting agreement that permission be withheld for leaders who were leveling attacks to address public meetings for a given time "as a legally enforceable penalty for clear breaches of this kind".

The commission also recommended that attacks on all existing authorities cease.

An agreement to do so would materially assist in defusing tensions and reducing the potential for violence in many areas of Natal/KwaZulu.
Peace plan gets cool reception

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

The Goldstone Commission's recommendation that non-political bodies should take over where political leaders have failed in a mass education drive for tolerance received a lukewarm reception from the National Peace Committee and the ANC yesterday.

Mr Justice Goldstone said public funding and international support should be sought for a public, non-political campaign to educate the masses on tolerance.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall said: "Ad hoc ing is something we have had too much of in this country. To achieve the (tolerance education) objective, one would need structure."

But Hall said he held the judge in the highest regard and, while he had not yet seen the entire report, he would support the recommendations reported in the media.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation would react to the report once it had been discussed at a meeting of the national working committee next month, but the ANC already did its utmost to promote peace among its members.

"But we believe all South Africans should play a role in bringing about peace," he said.

Niehaus rejected the judge's criticism that rivalry between the ANC and IFP was the primary trigger of violence between the two organisations.

"It is wrong to simply share the guilt between the ANC and IFP. In many cases, the IFP has used violence to promote its own political expansionist aims," he said.

PAC spokesman Waters "Bishop" Tobad said although the role of the ANC and IFP in violence was secondary to that of the security forces, "the ANC remains the common denominator in all township violence."

The IFP could not be reached for comment on the report at the time of going to press.

In his third report, Mr Justice Goldstone said political organisations had failed to educate the masses on the need for tolerance and the thrust could now well come from non-political bodies.

Contributory factors to violence continued to be socio-economic issues, suspicion and negative perceptions of the security forces, and the availability of sophisticated weapons.

An adequate, trusted witness protection programme would encourage witnesses to report information to the police.

Concern was also expressed at the frequency and ease with which bail was granted to people arrested on charges relating to serious cases of public violence and intimidation.

The commission suggested that consideration be given to withholding permission to address public meetings by those parties that breached the National Peace Accord.

Since the commission's second interim report in April, at least 10 committee reports have been sent to the President.
Lukewarm ANC reception for Goldstone SA plan

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Goldstone Commission's recommendation that non-political bodies should take over where political leaders had failed in a mass education drive for tolerance received a lukewarm reception from the National Peace Committee and the ANC.

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The Judge who has sti...
ANC, IFP optimistic about talks

The ANC and IFP were cautiously optimistic yesterday that today's meeting between the two parties would set a date and agenda for a summit between their respective leaders, Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC was aiming for tangible conclusions on a Mandela-Buthelezi summit to secure peace between the two parties. (27Q)

The ANC did not want the talks to be purely "ceremonial". There would be no point in continuing a series of preparatory summit talks if they did not produce concrete results.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said he expected the preparatory meeting to clear whatever obstacles remained in the way of the summit.

He cautioned, however, that the obstacles were not superficial.

Mdlalose is to lead the IFP delegation and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma the ANC team.

Neither the ANC nor the IFP would divulge the agenda for today's talks or the venue, but it is believed they will meet at a hotel in Durban. — Political Staff.
Call to donors

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday called on foreign donors to stop funding organisations implicated in political violence in South Africa until a culture of tolerance existed among their members.

Reacting to the Goldstone Commission's report which said rivalry between the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party was the main cause of violence in the Mooi River/Brustville area in Natal, Azapo said the donors should "put their money where their mouths are".

"If these donors are so worried about the violence as they claim to be, they should discontinue their funding until they (the organisations) have inculcated a culture of tolerance within their members."
What kind of society is it which can shrug off the loss of so many of our young people, kill our children and turn their children into criminals? This is the unity that Azafo's struggle for justice and equality march with their banners at the head of the.so can shrug off the loss of so many of our young people, kill our children and turn their children into criminals? This is the unity that Azafo's struggle for justice and equality march with their banners at the head of the.

Secretary of Azafo: Mokele, publically

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the violence

Reasons to end

Azafo's will actively join other organisations to help end the violence
By Sade Abas

**UN officials probe roadmap**

In a move that could signal significant developments in the ongoing peace process, the United Nations (UN) has launched an official investigation into allegations of human rights abuses by all parties involved in the conflict.

The investigation, led by UN human rights experts, will cover allegations of violations of international humanitarian law, including war crimes and crimes against humanity.

"We are committed to ensuring that those responsible for these abuses are held accountable," said UN Secretary-General António Guterres.

The investigation follows a series of reports by human rights organizations and journalists that have raised concerns about the conduct of all parties in the conflict.

The UN welcomes the support of the international community in this important effort to promote justice and accountability.

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**Bisexuality causes Inkhathas**

By Lebo Chirwa

In a surprising turn of events, the once traditionalist Inhkhatho Democratic Party (IP) has announced its support for the LGBT community, marking a significant shift in the party's stance.

The party's decision comes in response to a campaign by the LGBT community to promote acceptance and equality.

"We believe in the inherent dignity of all people and that everyone has the right to live their life without fear," said IP leader Thembisile Masinga.

The move has been met with mixed reactions from the party's traditional supporters, who are likely to face backlash.

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**ANC faces internal challenges**

By Sade Abas

In a sign of internal turmoil, the African National Congress (ANC) has announced that it will review its policies and structures in the wake of recent challenges.

The party has faced criticism over its slow response to the COVID-19 pandemic and its handling of allegations of corruption.

"We are committed to addressing these challenges and ensuring that we remain a strong and vibrant movement," said ANC President Cyril Ramaphosa.

The review process will involve consultations with party members and stakeholders.

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**Denmark receives international media coverage**

By Sade Abas

In a rare move, Denmark has become the focus of international media coverage, with reports highlighting the country's innovative approach to education and its successful handling of the COVID-19 pandemic.

"We are proud of our achievements and will continue to work towards a better future," said Danish Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen.

The attention on Denmark has been welcomed by many, who see it as a model for other countries to follow.
UN bolsters its SA team

UNITED NATIONS. — The United Nations will bolster its presence in South Africa by sending another 10 observers here, bringing the total to 60, the UN Secretary-General said in a report released yesterday.

Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali said he decided to send the additional observers because of "continued uncertainty over the country's future can only lead to further violence, instability and economic decline".

"Given the delicate situation now prevailing in South Africa, characterised by unacceptable and, in some locales, rising levels of violence, I intend to modestly reinforce the UN presence," he said.

Despite the rising violence, he said there was room for "guarded optimism about the prospect for progress towards a negotiated settlement in South Africa".

However, "the goal of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa must remain one of the highest priority".

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha has responded to a UN report enumerating criticisms of the government, suggesting that Dr Boutros-Ghali was not fully aware of all aspects surrounding problem areas in South Africa. — Sapa
UN will send more observers

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Despite the rising violence there was room for "guarded optimism about the prospect for progress towards a negotiated settlement in South Africa."

The secretary-general urged the South African Government to expedite implementation of agreements on releasing political prisoners and banning the carrying of dangerous weapons.

He also urged authorities to address concerns of women's organisations. — Sapa-AFP.
Pik lauds UN chief's stand on violence

Political Staff

United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali did not seem to be fully aware of the complications that made the issues of hostels, dangerous weapons and notorious SAADF Battalions 31, 32 and Koevoet difficult to resolve overnight, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Reacting to Boutros-Ghali's report to the UN Security Council last week, Botha said the Government was prepared to elucidate these matters with UN representatives.

Botha said he was pleased to note the recognition given by the UN secretary-general to the work of the Goldstone Commission. He urged governments to note Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's comment in his third interim report that he would welcome assistance from the international community and the UN in securing the cooperation of governments which hosted training camps and bases of armed movements operating in South Africa.

Boutros-Ghali's call on all political leaders to actively discourage violence and to take part in meetings of signatories of the National Peace Accord was important, Botha said.

He said the Government had undertaken to carry out its share of this responsibility and was doing everything it could to curb violence.

He welcomed the guarded optimism in Boutros-Ghali's report, but noted the UN secretary-general's concern about violence and intimidation against women.

The Government, shared Boutros-Ghali's aspirations concerning democratic parity for women in South Africa, and had signalled its intentions in this regard when President de Klerk announced in August, that the Government had decided to sign three major international conventions relating to women and women's rights.
What the people want in '93

POLITICAL TOLERANCE

An end to violence and jobs are high on the list of hoped-for windfalls next year.

By Lulama Luthi

Par, an end to violence, respect for one another, employment opportunities and most importantly, political tolerance.

This is what South Africans from all walks of life would like to see in 1993.

During a street survey conducted by Sowetan this week, many people were optimistic that 1993 would be a peaceful year.

Miss Elizabeth Khumalo, a parent of eight in Hillbrow, Johannesburg says: "We have three kids, one of them is going to be a police officer and the other three are in school. We need peace so that they can have a better life." Mr. and Mrs. Mabaso from Turffontein, Pretoria, said: "We want peace, we want to live in harmony with our neighbors."

Mrs. Veronica Mathula from Randfontein, near Vereeniging said: "We need peace in 1993. All the fighting should stop." And "I'm not sure if we'll get peace in 1993."

A street survey conducted uniformly by the Johannesburg City Council, Mrs. Lungile Mabaso from the Tembisa, said: "We want peace, we want to live in harmony with our neighbors."

A police officer from the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police, Mr. Nkosinathi Nkosi, said: "We want peace, we want to live in harmony with our neighbors."

A teacher from the Johannesburg High School, Miss Nkosinathi Nkosi, who added that she was looking forward to a brighter and better 1993.

"Think we are headed for a peaceful year in which there will be freedom," said Mr. George Mashaba from Soweto.

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"I think we are headed for a peaceful year in which there will be freedom," said Mr. George Mashaba from Soweto.

She said she hoped for an improvement in general living conditions throughout the country.
SA saturated with foreign observers

THE profusion of international observers in SA had reached the point where observers attending a march or rally were outnumbered by the participants, Idasa said in its Democracy in Action publication.

By the end of November this year, the UN had 50 full-time observers in SA, the Commonwealth Secretariat had 22 and the EC had 15, the Idasa report said.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said this week that the UN would be sending a further 10 observers to SA, bringing its total to 60.

Boutros-Ghali said he had decided to send additional observers because "continued uncertainty over SA's future can only lead to further violence, instability and economic decline."

The Idasa report said the OAU had also sent a task force, while the SA Council of Churches and the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference were hosting up to five international church observers in SA.

"The obvious question is whether their presence will have any effect at all on the violence. From some recent experiences it seems that their role will be limited," the report said.

"While it is clear that there is a role to play in observing rallies and voting polls, local non-government organisations which are dealing with the violence believe that the monitors will have to do more than send reports back home."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha reacted strongly to a report on SA submitted by two UN envoys to the UN Security Council.

"The envoys, Virendra Dayjal and Tom Vrana, were critical of government on a number of counts including the existence of covert operations, lack of security at hostels and deficiencies in the police's ability to investigate serious crimes," Botha said.

Boutros-Ghali was "not yet fully aware of all the relative aspects which make these problems difficult to resolve overnight."

People's courts 'still widespread'

PEOPLE'S courts and traditional forms of justice continue to operate widely in SA, says Idasa in its recent issue of Democracy in Action.

Ronel Scheffer said "popular justice mechanisms in SA" included traditional courts, alternative dispute resolution centres and "the plethora of structures known as people's or community courts."

There was considerable pressure for some of these to become a permanent feature of SA's judicial system, Scheffer said.

"This revolves not so much around the ideal of bringing justice and dispute resolution closer to the people but rather how this could, and should, be realised practically."

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People’s courts ‘still widespread’

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There was considerable pressure for some of these to become a permanent feature of SA’s judicial system, Scheffer said. “This revolves not so much around the ideal of bringing justice and dispute resolution closer to the people but rather how this could and should be realised practically.”

Nico’s Lucas Malekane said people’s courts were functioning daily in Cape Town’s Khayelitsha township with the knowledge of the police and strong community support.

Malekane said matters before the courts ranged from petty theft and family disputes to murder cases.

Traditional leaders’ organisation Contralesa president Patekile Holomisa reported widespread use of traditional courts in SA.

Scheffer said Idasa would be holding a national conference on people’s courts and traditional forms of justice next year.
This country, once seen as just another African casualty in the making, with its fruits reaped in South Africa.